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A PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL SKETCH OF TEPEHUA

BY

Nancy J. Kryder

B.A., Allegheny College, 1978

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

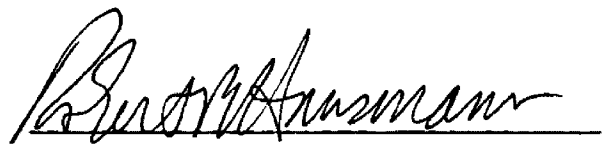
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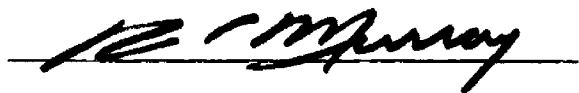
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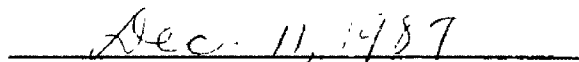
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Data were gathered during eight weeks of field work in Mecapalapa, Puebla and Huehuetla, Hidalgo, Mexico with three Tepehua informants. Since linguistic data is ultimately of limited use without accompanying contextual information, contextualizing materials including a brief socio-political profile of the modern Mexican Indian, details of the field site, and notes on the researcher-informant relationship precede the grammatical data. Tepehua is an aboriginal language of Mexico spoken by 3,000 to 4,000 people in a remote section of the Sierra Puebla. Sister language of Totonac in the Totonacan family, Tepehua is scantily represented in the growing body of literature on Meso-American languages. Published grammatical materials treat isolated portions of the grammar, but no reference grammar or dictionary exists. The thesis sketches the broad phonological and morphological features of the language, including phonotactics, morphophonemics, and verb, noun and affix morphology. Verb morphology shows a complex system of person, tense, aspect and mood markers used to inflect transitive, transitivized, intransitive and detransitivized stems. Particles, including uninflected words, numerals, and Spanish loanwords are also discussed. Sample texts and a glossary of roots are provided.

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ABBREVIATIONS

sub	subject	cont	continuative
obj	object	cus	customary
cond	conditional	caus	causative
prt	preterit	pft	perfective
cltc	clitic	inst	instrument
pt	punctual	ref	referent
art	article/relativizer	inter	interrogative
fut	future	prog	progressive
intr	intransitivizer	pl	plural
aux	auxiliary	accm	accompaniment
imp	imperfect	impt	imperative

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INTRODUCTION

I began my field work with three Tepehua Indians of Mexico in the summer of 1984. My original intent was to gather linguistic data toward producing a phonological and morphological sketch of Tepehua, a Totonacan language spoken in central Mexico. I quickly discovered, however, that my surroundings and the people I worked with interested me as much as my linguistic work. This thesis is the first product of that interest in the language and its context. By context I do not mean the details of particular speech acts I observed while in the field. Rather, my curiosity was aroused by the anthropological question, "How do my informants live?" and the historical question, "How did they come to live this way?" Having answers to both these questions seemed likely to improve my relationship with the informants and thus the quality of the work we did together.

Philosophically, there was even more to be gained. Clifford 1985, Clifford and Marcus 1986, and the more general influence of post-structuralist theory have made it difficult for the social scientist to proceed with confidence on the 'participant-observer' model. Such a model implies that an investigator negotiates a dual existence, one side of which is free of physical and political implications. Critics of this model note that the idea of a disembodied, omniscient observer enables an authoritative, 'correct' way of seeing. Further, it identifies culture as a static object the description of which is

objectively transmitted to a reading audience. The troubling assumption in the participant-observer perspective is the notion that certain activities--e.g. scientific observation and reporting--are free of context. Kelso 1980, Gilbert 1976, Overington 1977 and Wander 1976 argue against these notions in scientific research in general; the contributors to Clifford and Marcus 1986 argue against it as a model for ethnography in particular.

Norman O. Brown, speaking of psychoanalysis, elucidated the task of the post-modern investigator of man this way, in 1959:

Once we recognize the limitations of talk from the couch, or rather, once we recognize that talk from the couch is still an activity in culture, it becomes plain that there is nothing for the psychoanalyst to analyze except these cultural projections--the world of slums and telegrams and newspapers--and thus psychoanalysis fulfils itself only when it becomes historical and cultural analysis (Brown 1959:170).

It is with an adaptation of this perspective to linguistic research that I approached the task of writing a sketch of Tepehua. First, I determined not to hide by omission that my work with the informants was an activity in culture. Further, I wanted to rehabilitate the notion of an informant as a mere transmitter of linguistic forms. To do this I describe my informants and my relationship with them more than usually accompanies a linguistic sketch. Second, I profile below the socio-economic milieu of the modern Mexican Indian, drawn from my preparatory study of Mexican history and culture. At a later stage of study, such information will be crucial to interpreting

meaning among Tepehua utterances. What contextualizing material follows is as true a 'story we tell ourselves' about another culture/language as I find possible at this early stage of my research. It is intended to enrich rather than obscure the issues surrounding linguistic field work.

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The Indians of Mexico have been a part of the white man's plans from the earliest moments of the Conquest. Unlike their counterparts in North America, the conquerors of Meso-America saw the sophisticated and urban peoples of the New World as an opportunity rather than an obstacle. Hernán Cortés himself took keen advantage of Indian talents as he maneuvered toward the center of the Aztec world, gathering a corps of native translators, military allies and spies that eventually unnerved the empire's rulers. The military conquest of Cortés and those who followed did not in most cases imply the systematic extermination of the local peoples; it was merely the first step toward preparing the soil for the sowing of Castilian culture and religion. The jubilant Catholic Kings of Spain saw the conversion of the Indians to Catholicism, the incorporation of Indian agriculturists into a semi-fuedal system and the exploitation of Indian land and labor as their duty and due. Through the hard work of conquest, the renaissance Spaniard could fulfil his destiny by civilizing the heathen Indian. Spanish

zeal in the conquest and colonial periods rendered the majority of the Indian population powerless. Unfortunately, that sense of powerlessness and passivity afflicts the Indian population to this day. While Indians represent over ten percent of the population of Mexico, they are neither a viable political constituency nor have they organized on their own behalf. What was true of Mexico 450 years ago is largely true today: the Indians of modern Mexico are members of a servant class that continues to subsidize the ambitions of the political elite and the middle class.

Such long-standing political and economic polarization reflects and supports the psycho-social distance between Indians and non-Indians. The Indian is introspective, conservative and deeply suspicious of non-Indians. He sees the non-Indian--chiefly known to him by the term Mestizo--as an aggressor, and the outside world in general as inevitably dangerous and dishonest. Alienated by long, bitter experience, the Indian wants his land and he wants to be left alone. Non-Indians find the Indian backward, unwilling to innovate, and uncommunicative. A special frustration to non-Indians is the Indian's unwillingness to acculturate or assent to the national agenda. In frustration or pique, non-Indians have often been moved to use force against the Indian in order to make him comply with their vision of society.

While the Indian/non-Indian distinction seems clear cut to those who live it, it is less so to those who would quantify Indian and non-Indian populations. For purposes of study, the

Indian has been identified using a variety of criteria. Indians frequently wear native dress, go barefoot (especially the women), speak an aboriginal language and eat tortilla de maíz (corn tortillas) rather than wheat bread. Yet it is not always easy to distinguish an Indian from his non-Indian neighbors. Racial criteria are inappropriate since miscegenation among Spaniards, Indians, Black slaves and Chinese and Filipino immigrants during the Colonial period permanently obscured blood lines. Economically and socially, the Indians are barely distinguishable from the Mexican peasant population. In fact, Indians represent only a third of the estimated 30 million peasants in Mexico, all of whom would be considered very poor by North American standards. The growing number of Indians in transition to non-Indian styles of living further complicates a definitive portrait of the Indian.

On the question of establishing ethnic criteria in Mexico, Alfonso Caso, anthropologist and founder of the National Indian Institute, concluded, "An Indian is any individual who feels he belongs to an Indian community, who conceives of himself as an Indian" (Riding 1985:207). Indian-ness is a psychological orientation that has cultural and economic ramifications. Statistics on Indian populations reflect not only biological but cultural vitality as each year many Indians, usually young, cease to consider themselves Indian, even though their lifestyles appear little different from that of their impoverished neighbors.

Indian lifestyles, though highly dependent on the geographic and cultural environment of an Indian, demonstrate the narrow range of options available to the Indian. The highland Indian who sways drunkenly in the market place, laboriously counting his change may grimly manifest how the hopes and dreams of an emerging nation have affected some Indians. Such an Indian begins his journey to dissolution out of attempt to join in mission of modern Mexico. He receives economic breaks from the government and encouragement from the non-Indian community to abandon communal farming for the apparent advantages of cash crop farming. He invests his life savings to develop his own independent enterprise and a share in national and international markets. Although it is not easy to break the strong social ties that bind him to trade with friends and relatives in his village economy, his hopes for his growing family lead him to take on purely economic partners who agree to parlay his harvest to ever-widening markets. With a small loan, the family cornfield (milpa) is transformed into a tiny coffee plantation, and the Indian becomes an entrepreneur.

This new lifestyle may be short-lived as the hardships of low-capital cash crop farming become apparent. Perhaps coffee prices plunge due to a glut on the market, or summer floods destroy his small harvest. Bananas bring a good price but the Indian cannot quickly nor profitably convert his coffee plantation to meet the windfall. Middlemen and transporters cut more deeply into his profits to keep themselves solvent, and eventually the Indian

spends his surplus funds just to keep his family fed. A common conclusion to this story is the sale of an Indian's worthless crop to a local landowner for ready cash with which to pay his debts.

Landless, a financially ruined Indian works as a day laborer (peón) whenever and wherever he can find work. He must purchase all his needs with cash in the weekly marketplace. Inflation, devaluation and the local loan sharks shrink his buying power at every turn. His daily wage, though far below the legal minimum, is split between food and supplies for his family and cane liquor (aguardiente) for himself.

Another more conservative Indian may enjoy the use of communal lands and retain some small handhold on his means of production. Thanks to government programs, electrical power is available in his village and commercial buses can carry him to markets in other towns more quickly than he could travel before. His land may be so marginal that he is left in peace by other less welcome forces of progress. The development of a national Indian art industry helps him diversify his economy. The government food subsidy program (CONASUPO) guarantees the purchase of his harvest. He is poor but his personal prestige and community support keep his children from deserting him, for now at least. He knows his peasant household to be resilient in tough times and struggles against threats to it. His life is a series of crises survived, and there are fewer of his kind each year.

Still other Mexican Indians strive to survive by emmigrating from their rural homes. They may be pushed out by the developers of industrial plants, dams, tourist spots, or by the depletion of limited natural resources by outside contractors. They may be pulled by employment opportunities in urban areas or seasonal labor in other regions. Mexico City alone grew from 1.5 million inhabitants to 8.3 million between 1940 and 1970, half of this growth from migration (Riding 257). The Bracero Program (1942-64), designed to allow Mexican agricultural workers to work on U.S. farms, drew over 4.5 million peasants from their homes during its 22 year run (Riding 330). A number of these migrant workers stayed on illegally in the U.S. Others found it difficult to go back to subsistence wages in their home villages and found new lifestyles in Mexican-U.S. border towns and cities. In 1980 there were an expected 10.8 million people migrating to the cities from rural Mexico; over 14 percent of Mexico's population was on the move (Pontones 1973:150).

What rural emmigrants find in urban areas is more poverty. Five million urban poor in Mexico City lack health care, running water, adequate housing, jobs or decent wages. Over 30 percent are unable to satisfy their basic needs. Though Indians are but a part of this movement, their participation in it is clearly marked by the dozens of barefoot women in filthy native garb who comb downtown Mexico City of its spare change. It seems unlikely that ethnic identity can long withstand the pressures that a city of 18 million generates.

Television, schools, public transportation and the stories of the muleteer bring even the Indians who do not leave their homeland into contact with the outside world. National values concerning the family, sex roles, religion and materialism sweep into even remote Indian communities. A generation gap takes root where poverty has cleared the field. Ready-to-wear clothing has changed the look of rural Mexico as traditional costume, often handloomed and embroidered, becomes an embarrassment to the younger generation. Baby formula, soda pop and instant cocoa attract the spare pesos once applied to religious ceremonies and raw materials. Alcoholism--with its concomitant debtorship--is a spreading disease that seizes men and women at a profit for the shopkeeper.

Indian children often learn Spanish before they start school and refuse to speak their mother tongue once they enroll. Many of them admit it makes economic sense to do so (cf. Paulin de Siade 1974). There is little incentive to stay Indian in the scramble for survival in Mexico. But it is also very difficult to become anything else.

Beyond the generalized picture of the Indian way of life, an Indian may be known by his peers as a cultural Indian by the activities and values he does not participate in. The possessions and demeanor of the Mestizo--the psychological "other" of the Indian--define the Indian in terms of what the Indian is not. The term mestizo originally applied to the racially-mixed children produced by the sexual conquest of Mexico

in the 16th century. These individuals were frequently the unrecognized offspring of influential settlers and Indian women. They rejected traditional Indian ways for European culture, but in the early days of the colonial period, they held no inherent claim to power or wealth. At least until the national period, Mestizos were *personae non gratae*, spurned by the Europeans and aliens to the native culture. Through the exponential process of miscegenation their numbers grew and Mestizos came to claim positions of influence, slipping in the door in great numbers during the power shuffles of the Wars of Independence and the Mexican Revolution.

Through one of the ironic twists of Mexican rhetoric, the label "Mestizo" was reinterpreted in the 20th century to be practically synonymous with "Mexican". In most of the non-Indian world a Mestizo is a patriot, a full member of the national culture. To the Indian however, the Mestizo remains the enemy. The vast majority of Mexicans are biological Mestizos but in speaking of Indian-Mestizo relations, "Mestizo", like "Indian", is a cultural label. In the Indian view Mestizos are those who own capital, land and liens; they enjoy upward mobility in all realms and participate in national politics; they own trucks, t.v.'s and all the rural stores; and they steal from the Indian whenever they can.

While the Mestizo enjoys a socio-economic superiority over the Indian, he is exploited by his own kind through corrupt administrators of major industries, labor unions and government

offices. Nevertheless he has two things the Indian does not: money and power. In remote rural areas he is often the political boss, the head of all commerce and the law. Even the less prosperous Mestizo has access to the code by which to climb the ladder of success. His purgatory usually consists of impatiently awaiting the dreamed-of attentions of an influential sponsor. In the meantime, he antagonizes the Indian as he builds his empire. If he employs Indians he is also notorious for underpaying and abusing them. Expropriation of Indian land and resource rights, contract fraud and assassination of Indian leaders are not uncommon resolutions to Indian-Mestizo conflicts. Indians rarely have the financial wherewithal to purchase justice.

Mestizos--be they merchants, politicians, anthropologists or clergymen--are frequently accused of practicing internal colonialism. They tend to establish patron-client relationships wherever they infiltrate Indian territory. The Indian client, however reluctant, can gain only through identification with the desires of the patron. Natural resources are stripped from a region with little compensation to the native peoples. The economic and social development of the native population are kept to a minimum in order to maximize profits for the interloper. The Mestizo typically emphasizes his private well-being and the advancement of national culture over the civil and cultural rights of Indians. Critics lament that the Mestizo has assumed the role of his former antagonist, the renaissance European, with little of the European's 16th century idealism. The ruthlessness

of the Mestizo is matched in intensity by the Indian's silent hatred, and in this hopeless fury each finds his identity in denying the other an audience.

The stakes in this psychic and economic war are high. The ruling elite--unquestionably Mestizo--craves the appearance of a united front with which to gain the respect of the international community, and the benefits such recognition might bring to the nation. The Indian is gambling for his very existence. Indians and indianists maintain that the ruling elite in Mexico wants to improve the living conditions of the Indian while extirpating the beliefs and traditions that make his life worth living. Under these tensions it seems strange that civil war has not erupted in Mexico since the Revolution in the fashion of many other Latin American countries. Apolinar de la Cruz, spokesman for the National Council of Indian Peoples, explained how civil war has been avoided to then presidential candidate Miguel de la Madrid:

The paternalism of the government, of anthropologists, of political parties and of the churches has taken the initiative away from us. It has corrupted generations, it has blunted our ethnic and class consciousness. Because of paternalism, even public works and services impoverish and indebt us more than they benefit us. And as if that were not enough, paternalism becomes a vicious circle: it aims to protect us until we are ready to act on our own, but it prevents us from developing a capacity to look after ourselves (Riding 205).

The question of Indian identity is one of urgency not just to the social scientist or political analyst, but to the Indian himself, if he is to break free of centuries of victimization.

Still today, the Indian responds to outside pressures by

outlasting them. Despite the traumatic onslaught of first European and later Mestizo culture, the Indian, his culture and his languages have survived to an impressive extent. Indian place names crowd the Mexican maps and native crafts adorn virtually all Mexican homes. The eight to ten million Indians living in Mexico speak over 75 indigenous languages, despite the fact that Spanish has long been the national language.

Variations in the native dress, cuisine and material culture of the Indians are the source of the famed regional color of Mexico, and those who live on tourist dollars know it. The limit on the Indian's political presence has not erased his racial and cultural contribution to Mexico. Cultural diversity is so great in Mexico as a whole that in 1984 President Miguel de la Madrid was prompted to describe Mexico as a "veritable federation of nationalities" (Riding 205).

Tolerant political rhetoric aside, Indian and non-Indian efforts to establish social and economic equity in Mexico are stalemated by traditions that are no longer useful to Mexicans. First, the longstanding habit of exploiting Indians remains to be broken. Second, the centralized political structure abets exploitation and keeps the largely rural Indian population on the political fringes. Third, the drive to homogenize Mexican culture, also a reflex of centralist policies, inhibits communication between policy makers and their Indian constituents. In fact, most of Mexico's plans for the future have been subverted by the cultural diversity of the Mexican

people and the attempt to suppress this natural genius. Indians, like other poverty-stricken Mexicans, live the precarious existence of an endangered species as Mexico's leadership struggles quixotically to conquer its patrimony.

CHAPTER 1. IN THE FIELD

Home for the Tepehuas centers on a small section of the eastern slope of the Sierra Puebla where the Mexican states of Hidalgo, Puebla and Veracruz meet. Fifty miles west of the Gulf Coast nearly 4,000 Tepehuas live scattered among a cluster of villages that are nestled in a lush patchwork of deciduous jungle and hand-cleared fields. Huge oil fields to the north and east are nearby outposts of national industry; capped test wells, freshly cut roads and small orange PEMEX (Petroleros Mexicanos) survey signs are not uncommon sights in the Indian territory that lies in the oilman's embrace. To the west the land rises steadily to the plateau that cradles the nation's capital. A modern federal highway connects Mexico City with oil town Poza Rica and the coast. This highway marks the southern extreme of Tepehua country. The difficult, deeply-folded terrain, the dense vegetation and the 40-80 inches of annual rainfall (most of which falls in a four month period) help lock this land away from the benefits and vices of modern Mexico, despite its relative proximity to important urban centers.

Within Tepehua country, roads built to facilitate mineral exploration connect the larger villages. Heavy public buses ply the dirt roads daily to reach these villages at least 10 miles from paved road. Traveling merchants also navigate the back country regularly in rattling freight trucks built to ford small rivers and waist-deep puddles. Most Tepehuas and their Indian

neighbors lack motorized transportation and make heavy use of the foot paths and mule trails that criss-cross the area.

Tepehuas share this subtropical region with a number of other Indian peoples. Speakers of Nahua (Mexicano), Otomí, Totonaco, Huastec and Tepehua mingle in the plazas of the larger villages on market days. Within individual communities, these Indian groups maintain separate barrios (small social and geographic units, much like neighborhoods), but most villagers who speak an Indian language will speak at least one other indigenous language beside his own. In fact, there are few if any villages that are exclusively Tepehua settlements. Only five of the 31 settlements with Tepehua inhabitants in 1950 were without members of any other tribe.

Roberto Williams García, anthropologist of the University of Veracruz, toured and studied the area from 1952 until 1961 in an attempt to isolate lo tepehua, or the essence of being a Tepehua. Apart from a few elements of dress and religious practice and their distinctive speech, Williams García 1963 found the Tepehuas to behave much like their Indian neighbors. He also reported that the Tepehuas had a relatively small population compared with those of their neighbors and that they were being absorbed into the larger tribes through intermarriage and cultural diffusion. The various Indian peoples in this native stronghold have coexisted for hundreds of years and share a rich history of invasions, natural disasters and cultural and linguistic innovation whose full portrait has yet to be painted.

1.0. Mecapalapa, Puebla

In the summer of 1984 I spent six weeks in Mecapalapa, Puebla, a bustling rural town of 5,000. The Indian population is a mix of Totonacs, Nahuas, Otomies and a very few Tepehuas. Most of the inhabitants are biological mestizos who claim descent from one or more Indian tribes. Mecapalapa falls squarely within Totonacapan, the traditional territory of the Totonac Indians. It is popularly considered a Totonac town and is known locally by its Totonac name Munixscan. Mecapalapa is also the governing seat (cabecera) of the county (municipio) known as Mecapalapan. Thus it has significant ties to state and national bureaucracies that may account for its secularized ambience. Informed by a rich Indian culture, Mecapalapa is nonetheless in league with the architects of national Mestizo culture.

Mecapalapa is located 20 kilometers (16 miles) north of the Mexico-Poza Rica highway (Mexico 180). The short trip on the alternately muddy and rocky unpaved road takes about one hour, half that time in the drier winter months. The road winds through rolling hills and river bottom 300m (900 ft) above sea level. The center of town lies on a small ridge, and is immediately recognizable by its concrete plaza flanked by the church, the municipal buildings and several windowless stores. Children play basketball at the hoops placed at either end of the rectangular plaza or gather in small groups on the white wrought-iron benches that ring the otherwise bald, slightly sunken hub of town. A half dozen avenues radiate from the plaza, most of them

downhill to the barrios and one uphill, to the cemetery.

The mestizo population, and with it the stuccoed houses and graded roads, is concentrated near the plaza as are the tortillería (the corn mill), the town eatery and the public schools. During the rainy season, deepening mud marks the threshold of the poorer barrios. Houses of neatly tied poles, corrugated tar paper, mud, and sometimes cardboard may be recognized as Indian homes in any weather. In the barrios huge mango trees block out the sky and keep the houses cool and damp. High humidity and overcast skies often hold a gray pall over the town during the summer.

At the edge of town is pasture land marked off into small parcels by fences made of barbed wire and live saplings. Cattle and an occasional horse or mule graze here undisturbed. Large ranch houses, many of them in disrepair, dot the undulating bottomland. These are the second homes of the wealthiest Mestizos in town. Here they cultivate kitchen gardens, raise fruit trees and tend their livestock. Grown sons of the landowning family may live at the rancho while their aging parents stay in town, but there is daily communication between the two concerns. Along the steep hillsides are the rough squares of the peasants' milpas, well positioned to survey all that the Mestizo owns.

Adequate rainfall in a country where over 80 percent of the land is arid to semi-arid is one of the blessings associated with living in Mecapalapa. The reliable summer rains feed a a number

of rivers and creeks in the area. To the north of Mecapalapa glides the river Pantepec. Several of its tributaries and an arroyo curve through Mecapalapa itself. Underground springs provide fresh drinking water for those without private wells.

Water and rain are a way of life in Mecapalapa. The arroyo for example fairly teems with activity all day long. Women and girls do the family laundry while the younger children swim or splash nearby. Weather permitting, people of all ages and both sexes gather at the arroyo to wash their cars, mules, or more discreetly, themselves. Mecapalapans let the rain wash their town. Since flushing toilets and latrines are rare in Mecapalapa, the heavy downpours that occur every few days in the summer months mercifully sweep the town's raw sewage into ditches that run into the churning arroyo. Within hours after a storm the arroyo calms to its usual lazy drift and women and children resume their activities on its banks.

Less felicitously, the rain annually swells the Pantepec river, sometimes claiming lives and always temporarily inhibiting commerce between Mecapalapa and its neighbors north of the river. Mud and broad puddles obscure the graded roads and keep travelers on foot from all but the essential trails in and around town. Mecapalapa's electric supply regularly fails during the wet season, eliminating one of the small comforts an increasing number of Mecapalapans enjoy. Despite these inconveniences, the rain is welcome for its part in irrigating the land, as children who spend the summer devouring huge windfall mangos will testify.

Perhaps because of its political status, but more likely because it is so relatively close to the national highway, Mecapalapa has been a center of immigration, attracting peoples from nearby hamlets pushed from their homes by flood, crop failure or political oppression. One delapidated, multi-colored taxi sits off the plaza waiting to convey those with the fare to the traffic-jammed streets of Poza Rica. Twice daily a battered over-sized bus make Mecapalapa its last stop before returning to the highway. Mecapalapa is frequently an overnight stop for someone migrating to Mexico City, but it is also figuratively a stop on the road to mestizoization for cultural Indians.

2.0. Monica Francisco

My first linguistic informant, Monica Francisco, was a 40 year-old Tepehua Indian. Born in the Tepehua stronghold of Huehuetla some 16 miles west of Mecapalapa, Monica left her birthplace as an adolescent to escape betrothal to a suitor chosen by her parents. She eventually married Andrés, a Totonac living in Mecapalapan. Her neighbors reported that she arrived in Mecapalapa wearing traditional Tepehua dress which marked her as a genuine Indian. By her own account she was nearly destitute when she and her husband arrived in Mecapalapa. When I met Monica she wore ready-to-wear polyester dresses, spoke Totonac, Spanish and Tepehua and operated a bakery in her modest paraje (stick and mud) home near the plaza.

I met Monica through the assistance of the local priest and a

school teacher. While many a Mecapalapan claimed to have Tepehua parents, none but Monica was known to speak "real" Tepehua (el legitimo). Monica herself might have been responsible for this image since she had been a linguistic informant for Wycliff Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) missionaries in her youth in Huehuetla. She described for me more than once her being whisked off to a place where they ate only wheat bread, a location she can not now identify in any other way. Monica was also celebrated for speaking fluent Spanish, by means of which I talked with her directly from the outset.

Monica was childless and openly drank too much beer, a privilege usually reserved for elderly Tepehua women. She had an arrogant and business-wise cast of mind. She was by turns outspoken, moodily silent, condescending and motherly. She negotiated diffidently over her hourly wage and the number of hours she would work each day. She worried about time spent with me that might be better applied to cooking, washing, gathering firewood, baking bread for sale in the market and her work as a curandera, a healer. As it turned out, we worked an average of an hour and a half a day, roughly every other day for six weeks, much to our mutual dissatisfaction, since she disliked the work and I despaired of gathering enough data in such short sessions.

During my first stay in Mecapalapa, Monica lived with her husband, Andrés, her younger brother, Manuel Quirino, and two of his children, Antonio (12) and Monica (10), in a house built by Andrés. Apart from the rosewood door frame, the house was

constructed of vertical, handcut bamboo poles, nailed and tied together. It had a pitched roof of corrugated tar paper. A single internal mud wall split the house longitudinally. The front room held the handmade wooden kitchen table, several tiny (one-foot high) wooden chairs and a small altar decorated with faded crepe paper, tin candelabra, and a Catholic icon. A wooden cooling rack covered one wall and a large variety of cooking pots of clay and enameled tin hung from the blackened ceiling. The floor in this room as in the entire house was of packed dirt, accidentally garnished with the flattened metal tops of beer and soda bottles.

The room to the back of this area held the mud hearth and food storage area as well as several wood and burlap cots for sleeping purposes. Although I never actually entered this room I could see most of it through the doorway from where I sat at the kitchen table. Several large pieces of burlap hung from the ceiling in the back room presumably to give household members some privacy in which to dress. There were no windows in the house and light entered only through the front doorway and various cracks in the roofing opened to ventilate the cooking area. The Franciscos had neither running water nor electricity and they shared (or rented) a bread-baking oven, adjacent to the house. The house was situated on an incline with houses close by on either side of it; the family pigs and turkeys enjoyed the run of the tiny front stoop.

In good weather the men of the household walked to the rented

milpa armed with machetes and wooden digging sticks (coas) to cultivate corn, beans, chile and fruit. The men walked for over an hour to reach the milpa, dressed in rubber or leather sandals and polyester pants rolled up to midcalf. They rarely took anything with them to eat or drink although they often spent 8-10 hours there, weeding, planting and harvesting. Monica and her 10 year-old niece, Monica "chica" (little Monica), spent the day cooking, grinding chile, shopping for necessities, washing the family laundry and selling their homemade breads. With the advent of the electric corn mill, most women abandoned grinding their own corn into masa (corn treated with lime and ground into a coarse paste), on a stone quern in their homes. Monica was no exception and for a few pesos she had her corn ground at the local tortilleria. She pressed her niece into service to stand in line with the bucket of dried corn to be exchanged for freshly ground masa. Monica chica was then responsible for patting the masa into tortillas in preparation for the arrival of the men and the evening meal.

On Thursdays and sometimes Tuesdays, the entire household would work together all day long to mix, knead and bake a large variety of sweet rolls and dinner breads that were to be sold door to door and at the Friday market. Andrés and Manuel did the heavy work while Monica supervised and the children assisted as needed. After the long day's work on Thursdays, Friday was a welcome holiday enjoyed by Monica and her family as it was by the whole town, once the morning's buying and selling was completed.

Monica and Andrés occasionally left town to cure people in neighboring communities and from this I concluded that Monica was also respected for her healing abilities. Within the first week of my work with her, a pair of unmarried girls came to the house to be cured of the most common ailment amongst villagers, *espanto* or shock. A person suffering from bad dreams or the trauma of an accident may seek a cure for *espanto*; some ethnographers in Mexico also consider *espanto* the result of exposure to evil eye phenomena. When the girls arrived, Monica blithely broke off our conversation and proceeded to light the candles on the altar. She positioned the girls on their knees in the middle of the room. Monica poured a glass of *aguardiente* over which she said something in Spanish and which she later sprinkled on the floor near the kneeling girls.

After a while she grabbed one of the nearly featherless pullets wandering around in the room. She held it by its feet and swung it by the heads of her patients. She continued to mumble words in Spanish, unintelligible in company with the strident protests of the swinging chicken. The girls maintained a serious demeanor throughout, broken by a very few self-conscious smiles aimed in my direction. They were dressed in fashionable clothing and were probably not *Tepehuas* themselves. When the ritual ended, the girls rose and quietly paid Monica for the cure and the alcohol and went on their way. The procedure seemed routine for Monica, who seemed to make a good part of her living by this trade.

Family members spoke Tepehua in the house although each of them was fluent in Spanish. Because Monica could not work with me often, I sought out her young niece and nephew, then 10 and 12 years of age, respectively, as additional informants. They agreed to come to my house to work so that we could take advantage of the electrical outlets there and so extend the life of the batteries in my tape recorder. The children were afraid to come to my house unaccompanied and so Monica brought them over for the first session; thereafter they came as a pair or still later, singly.

I learned from them that they were living in Mecapalapa temporarily because their mother had gone with the two other children to work in Mexico City. They both anxiously awaited their return to their home in Huehuetla. Monica chica would have little to do with girls her own age in Mecapalapa. Neither of them attended school, although Antonio said he could read a little Spanish and both had been to school for at least two years. Both children seemed very attached to their father but there was tension between them and their aunt. My attentions to the children seemed to contribute to this. Monica occasionally forbade their working with me.

When I returned to Mecapalapa in December of 1985 I found Monica's situation to have changed considerably. First, the wooden structure that had been her house had been refurbished with cinderblock walls. One framed window had been installed on the western wall of the front room and a new mud hearth, this

time with its own oven, had been built in the back room. Monica's house now boasted electricity although there was still no running water. The altar in the front room had been replaced by a metal clothes locker. The atmosphere in the house was different too, since Manuel and the children had gone back to Huehuetla to stay. Monica seemed more relaxed and even pleased to see me, an experience I had not had very often my first summer there.

I was surprised to learn that the family milpa had been expropriated, ostensibly by Mestizos who had turned it into pasture land for their livestock. Andrés merely shrugged about this, saying that the poor can do nothing about the rich. I was tempted to conclude from the obvious signs of prosperity in the household that he did not miss the milpa much. Now Monica and Andrés bought all their foodstuffs, including corn, in the Friday market. They still ran their bakery and Monica went ahealing. This seemed to satisfy their basic needs.

I did not have an opportunity to observe whether Monica and Andrés still spoke predominantly Tepehua in their home, now that Manuel and the children had gone.

3.0. Huehuetla, Hidalgo

I returned to Mecapalapa in December, 1985 in hopes of working with Monica chica and Tonio again. I learned in Mecapalapa that they had returned to Huehuetla. I decided to go there and seek them out. Manuel and his children had walked the seven-hour, 25

kilometer trek between Mecapalapa and Huehuetla a year before. I stuck to the highway system, a circuitous trip of 200 kilometers that took almost eight hours by car.

The last four hours of the grueling trip was on washed out dirt roads that descended in unnerving switchbacks through pine-oak forests to tropical evergreen forest. A public bus labored along the single lane road several times between Tenango and Huehuetla. As it groaned past my vehicle I thought it must have been a hellish commute, even without the heavy fog that lingered on the roads' curves.

Huehuetla lies in a narrow river corridor, pressed against the hillside by the river and a high stone cliff that looms over the town. It has a population of about 3,500, half of it Indian, half Mestizo. Traditionally it is considered a Tepehua homeland and Tepehua is spoken openly on its streets. The Tepehuas' closest neighbors beside the Mestizos are the Otomí who apparently live in settlements surrounding town proper. The Tepehua population of Huehuetla was once greater than it is now, but disastrous floods and the occupation of the town by Victoriano Huerta, general and later dictator during the bloodiest years of the Mexican Revolution, caused Tepehuas to flee in great numbers.

SIL missionaries worked in Huehuetla in the 1950's and produced an edition of the New Testament in Tepehua. The village priest doubted that many people in Huehuetla know how to read either Spanish or Tepehua. He added that the Tepehuas are very devout

and about half of them are hermanos, e.g. protestant.

Although Huehuetla is less than 50m (150 ft) higher in elevation than Mecapalapa, the climate is cooler and the land less generous with its gifts. The Indians do not maintain private or rented milpas but work as day laborers for local coffee producers. Many families have one or two head of livestock and some poultry, but most appeared to depend chiefly on the biannual coffee harvest to survive. Huehuetla has electrical service (subject to frequent interruptions) but is more modestly supplied with consumer goods than Mecapalapa. While the town has a small, handsome plaza, a large public school, a church and its share of stuccoed houses, its atmosphere is subdued compared with that of Mecapalapa. No children thronged to see the gringos.

4.0. Antonio and Monica Quirino

Tonio and Monica Quirino were restless children when I met them in Mecapalapa in 1984. In their home in Huehuetla they were in a more somber mood. They were living with their mother, Isabel, their father, Manuel, and their two sisters, Margarita, 16, and Cristina, 10. Tonio and Monica were 14 and 12, respectively.

Economic troubles had plagued them since their return from Mecapalapa, and there was an atmosphere of crisis in the household. Manuel's brother had sold the family milpa and livestock without consulting Manuel. Manuel's mother apparently supported the sale, though it left Manuel penniless. She lived

in an unfinished cinderblock house replete with electrical service near the plaza. Though alone, she seemed well provided for. As Manuel was a serious-minded and dignified man, a kind father and did not drink, I suspected that the trouble stemmed from some fraternal rivalry rather than a settlement of grievances. Monica and Tonio showed their usual loyalty to their father and reflected his proud spirit.

Their house was located in the poorest Tepehua barrio, close by the river. It was built in just over a day by Manuel, Tonio and family friends. The house was a one-room structure made of slim poles tied and nailed together. A small mud hearth occupied one corner, buckets of water another and the parents' sleeping cot the other. The floor was of packed dirt. At night the floor was covered with woven grass mats (petates) on which the children slept. All the family's personal belongings were either hung from the ceiling or stowed in cardboard boxes under the cot. A tiny wooden table, several miniature chairs and a fruit crate or two completed the household furnishings. The house had no windows but was ventilated by front and back doorways and a gap in the roof above the hearth. The back doorway opened onto a outdoor work area where the family kept chickens and turkeys. There was neither electricity nor running water supplied to the house.

The children were accustomed to eating two meals a day, one morning and one evening meal. Meat and milk were rarely served. Tortillas, beans and coffee were their staple foods. During

coffee picking season, Isabel and her oldest daughter Margarita did the cooking while Manuel, Tonio and Monica spent the day at a local rancho picking coffee. Manuel and his two children were paid 800 pesos (U.S. \$4.00) a day for their combined efforts. Since the Quirinos did not have even a kitchen garden, they had to purchase their food in the Sunday market.

Tonio usually worked with his father and as a boy of 14 he was already assuming a sense of responsibility for his family. He said he was free to go out with friends during his free time. He occasionally played soccer along the river. Monica's chores included doing the dishes, the laundry, and looking after her younger sister. She liked to play with dolls and other children but she said this displeased her parents. Neither child attended school and both parents complained about this.

The children were willing to work with me when I approached them with the idea, but they were apprehensive about my plans to take them to my hotel for several days of intensive work. Manuel helped me convince them that it was a good opportunity to earn money for the family and see something of my world. He assured them that I would look after them like a parent and admonished them to take the work seriously. We left Huehuetla Christmas morning. It was the first time Monica and Tonio had been in a car.

Monica's sense of propriety was not as repressive as Tonio's and she occasionally broke into smiles or giggles over something that took her fancy. She usually deferred to his silent

authority however, and laughed or talked freely only when he dropped his guard. Both children acted distrustful of me, but were never rebellious or disrespectful. They were reticent to speak and almost never volunteered information about themselves or their family. "Yes" and "No" were their most common replies to my queries. During their stay the hotel, they often seemed to suppress their delight at new experiences. Tonio in particular resisted the luxuries of hotel life and skipped several meals without explanation. Monica appeared pleased with the hotel grounds and ate heartily at every meal. She allowed me to buy her several gifts, something which embarrassed Tonio. Tonio showed signs of relief when I dropped him and his sister off at the bus depot for the return trip to Huehuetla. Monica was sullen and more silent than usual.

5.0. Working Together

My first field season I decided to rent a house in Mecapalapa and work with my informants there. I did not count on my informants refusing to come to my house to work. Nor did I realize that the benefits of living in Mecapalapa in order to observe village life would be offset by my necessary involvement with village rhythms. Monica, Tonio and Monica chica led lives full of daily routines and activities whose pull was not to be undermined by my desires. Thus my workday was severely limited by their schedules. They fit me in when possible and cancelled sessions without warning. I had to conceal my impatience for

fear they would avoid me entirely. An atmosphere of blackmail soon infiltrated our relationship.

What clout I had in Mecapalapa depended largely on how much I could pay for it. Monica demanded \$500 pesos (U.S. \$2.50) an hour and we agreed on \$200 (U.S. \$1.00). I soon learned that this labeled me an extravagant American and had roused the envy of her neighbors. The price for all services rendered to me in the community went up accordingly. When I enlisted the services of Monica chica and Tonio, I agreed to pay them \$100 pesos an hour, in deference to Monica's seniority. They turned out to be much better informants than Monica, and I raised their pay to equal Monica's, much to her disliking. She became more difficult to work with. The children in turn complained of losing their money and having it stolen from them, complaints that I finally ignored because of my suspicion that I was being manipulated. Their requests for loans further aggravated my mistrust. Good will did not flourish under these conditions.

Power outages, town holidays, torrential rains and stifling heat conspired to limit my activities. Monica's drinking affected the frequency and quality of our sessions. My efforts were also limited by my Spanish, which was passable but cost me some trouble. My informants were fluent in Spanish but spoke a dialect different from that I had learned in urban central Mexico. There were daily annoyances for all of us over our respective brands of non-standard Spanish.

When in 1985 I established Monica chica and Tonio in my hotel

for several days, I had control over our work schedule but I had to escort the children and teach them the basics of hotel life. The childrens' dependency on me was stressful to us all. Tonio became very restless and Monica was bored. This affected our concentration during work sessions.

I did not have time enough in the field to train Monica, Tonio and Monica chica as linguistic informants. Monica considered herself my teacher and expected to lead our sessions. Since my obedience had necessary limits, she generally disapproved of me and acted as if I was interfering with her efforts to teach me Tepehua. She was at least ten years my senior which contributed to her sense of authority over me. If I allowed Monica to lecture, I got little real data, but if I led the session she became very apathetic. It was rare that we struck a comfortable compromise.

With the children I had the opposite problem, that they would not assert themselves in my presence. Though I occasionally observed them laughing and playing on their own, with me they were polite but very quiet. The unlimited authority of adults (particularly parents) in rural Mexico probably contributed to this behavior but I thought that a general mistrust of strangers influenced the children as well. They talked animatedly about economic matters but instantly became shy and embarrassed when I asked them personal questions. It seemed painful for them to advertise their personalities in a way so common for the North American. I was unable to stimulate them to talk freely in

Tepehua. My data collection suffered accordingly.

Most pervasively my relationship with my informants foundered on our respective motivations for engaging in it. I had intellectual, economic and social motivations, fed by a North American work ethic and an education in the democratic spirit. Under these burdens I found it confusing that my informants had no interest in my work nor in learning to read or write; that they were little impressed by the economic opportunity I afforded them; that they did not trust me. I did not know what motivated my informants to work with me beyond the money I paid them, and I could see that the money did not mean to them what it meant to me.

As Indians, they were obliged to downplay their wages even to the point of denying they received any so as not to incur the envy of their peers. They expected me, on the other hand, to follow Mestizo values and be ostentatious with my wealth and finance the status they ascribed to me. For my part, I had never considered wealth one of my personal attributes. I often felt discouraged by their lack of intellectual interest in me and our work and I disliked their need to be my social opposite.

Distrust notwithstanding, the informants were obviously curious about me. Monica and her niece frequently asked me such blunt questions that it was I who became flustered and at a loss for words. None of us was sure how to pigeon-hole the other. Initially they were suspicious that I was a religious missionary. They seemed finally to decide that I was something similar to a

school teacher. One of the results of our mutual strangeness was a lot of awkward silence between us on social occasions. While we worked, it was difficult to "take five" and get the benefit of alternating between leisure and work behaviors. My relationship with the informants was necessarily a social relationship and I had much to learn about the etiquette of rural Mexico.

A longer stay with my informants might have eased the strangeness and given us more shared experience to refer to. A better command of Spanish and Tepehua on my part would also have been of consequence. Despite my efforts to the contrary, the tedium, mistrust, anxiety, disorientation and even physical discomfort often associated with field work found their way into our work sessions and had an impact on them as powerful as either my methodology or the competence of my informants.

CHAPTER 2. LINGUISTIC DATA AND ANALYSIS

Tepehua and its sister language Totonac are the sole members of the Totonacan linguistic family. Speakers of Tepehua number between 4,000 and 5,000 compared to the 60,000 to 90,000 speakers of Totonac. Although Tepehua and Totonac are mutually unintelligible, similarities between the two languages were noted by the earliest recorders of Meso-Americana. The genetic relationship between Tepehua and Totonac was not formally demonstrated in the literature until 1953 when Arana reconstructed a proto-Totonacan phonology based on 68 cognate sets from one Tepehua and three Totonac dialects. Arana 1953 concluded that Tepehua had evolved further from the proto-language than had Totonac.

Ties between Totonacan and other language families of the Americas have not been clearly established. In 1929 Sapir expanded on the work of Kroeber and Dixon (1919) to create the Mexican Penutian phylum which tacitly included Totonacan. In 1935 Whorf tentatively placed Totonacan in the superstock Macro-Penutian that included Uto-Aztecan languages but excluded the Mayan family of languages. Undecided as he was about the relation of Totonacan to Macro-Penutian, Whorf maintained that there was not sufficient evidence to confirm a relationship between Totonacan and Mayan (Mason 1940). McQuown challenged Whorf's position in 1942 when he developed the Macro-Mayan hypothesis which grouped Totonacan with Mayan and Mixe-Zoque

languages (Campbell 1979). Solid evidence that Totonacan is affiliated with either the Uto-Aztecan or Mayan family is still lacking although the Macro-Mayan hypothesis remains current. In more recent classifications, Campbell 1979, Kaufman 1983 and Campbell et al. 1986 list Totonacan as a discrete family without further affiliations.

For a variety of reasons, Totonac has commanded the linguist's interest while Tepehua has not. Published materials on Tepehua grammar remain very limited. Since Arana's 1953 reconstruction at least two other dialect areas of Tepehua have been identified, yet no further comparative study has been published. Wycliff Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) linguists have contributed the balance of published materials on Tepehua. Bethel Bower (now Bower-Blount) lived among the Tepehua in the village of Huehuetla, Hidalgo from 1942 until 1970. Her work as a missionary and linguist yielded a translation of the New Testament (Liga Bíblica Mundial del Hogar 1976) and two articles that address grammatical issues (1948, Bower and Erickson 1967). Dorothy Herzog worked with Bower-Blount in Huehuetla to develop literacy materials in Tepehua. Along with a set of illustrated primers, Herzog has reported on the Tepehua verb (no date). She is currently collaborating with Tepehua language helpers in the production of a dictionary and a reference grammar of Huehuetla Tepehua. James Watters, also an associate of SIL, studied the phonology (1980) and verbal semantics (1986) of the Tlachichilco dialect of Tepehua. Campbell 1979 cites the work of Jacks

(unpublished material) and Hasler 1966 on Totonacan dialects.

The data and analysis which follow are based on the utterances of three speakers of the Huehuetla, Hidalgo dialect of Tepehua. The corpus was transcribed from approximately 30 hours of speech recorded on high fidelity tape. Section 1.0. consists of a preliminary sketch of the Tepehua sound system. I discuss Tepehua morphology in section 2.0. Section 3.0. contains several texts I elicited from Monica Francisco and their translations by Tonio and Monica Quirino.

Because so little data on Tepehua has been published I include numerous examples wherever possible. While in the field I concentrated on eliciting paradigms rather than texts and thus my grammatical labels and glosses should be considered tentative, pending the study of Tepehua forms as they occur in texts. My collation and analysis of Tepehua phonology and morphology is not intended to be predictive. I welcome comment from those better versed in Totonacan grammar than I.

1.0. Phonology

Watters 1980 discusses aspects of the phonology of Tlalchichilco Tepehua in some detail and this remains the fullest phonological account of a Tepehua dialect to date. Bower-Blount 1948 and Herzog (no date) address phonological and morphophonemic issues in brief footnotes accompanying their respective morphological descriptions of Tepehua. A sketch of Tepehua phonemics, phonotactics, suprasegmentals and morphophonemics

based on my own data follows. All transcriptions are phonemic, however phonetic transcriptions appear where they are instructive.

1.1. Consonants

The phonemic inventory of Tepehua includes 22 consonants, charted as follows:

Consonants:

	Labial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops and	p	t		ç	k	(q)	'
Affricates	p	t		ç	k	q	
Fricatives		s	ʔ	ʃ			h
Resonants	m	(r) n	l	y	w		

Consonants are produced in seven positions: labial, alveolar, lateral, palatal, velar, uvular, and glottal. The three manners of articulation are: stop (including affricates), fricative, and resonant (oral and nasal). The stops divide in two series, glottalized voiceless and plain voiceless, in all positions except the glottal. The fricative series includes three spirants /s, ʔ, ʃ/, and glottal /h/. All Tepehua obstruents are voiceless in all positions. Resonants divide into two nasals, two liquids, /r/ and lateral /l/, and glides /y/ and /w/.

Based on the count of the phonemes which occur in the lexicon, the approximate frequency of the consonants is as follows: 1)

/n/ and stops /t,k,ʔ/ are the most frequent consonants. Least frequent are stops /c/ and /p̥/ which occur only 11 and 9 times, respectively, in the 415 words recorded in the lexicon; 2) all plain stops except /c/ and /q/ occur between two and seven times as frequently as their glottalized counterparts. /c/ occurs half as many times as /č/ and /q/ occurs 50 times more frequently than /q̥/; 3) all fricatives occur with moderate frequency, /s/ being the most frequent and /h/ the least; 4) nasal resonants /m/ and /n/ are among the most frequent consonants in the system while oral resonant /l/ is moderately frequent. Glides /y/ and /w/ fall in the range of the least frequent phonemes, yet are more frequent than any of the glottalized stops.

In the following transcriptions I use phonemic writing and include a phonetic transcription only where it is instructive.

1.1.1. Stops and Affricates

Plain and glottalized stops are released in all positions. Glottalized stops are weakly articulated in all positions.

1.1.1.1. /p̥/ and /p/ are voiceless bilabial stops, glottalized and plain, respectively. /p̥/ does not appear in the corpus in word-final position.

/p̥/	/p̥in/	chile/chili pepper
	/ʂump̥ip̥i/ > [ʂump̥ip̥ɪ]	cucaracha/coakroach
/p/	/pa'áč/	ala/wing

/nípʂ/	calabaza/squash
/pápa/ > [pápʌ]	marido/husband

1.1.1.2. /t̥/ and /t/ are voiceless alveolar stops, plain and glottalized, respectively. /č/ and /c/ are voiceless alveolar affricates [tsʰ] and [ts], respectively.

/t̥/	/t̥in/	semilla/seed
	/kit̥in/	yo/I
	/qot̥/	tomar/drink

/t/	/ti:/	vereda/trail
	/'ačatí:n/	hierba/herb
	/'as'át/	niña/girl

/č/	/čaʂ/	hijo/child
	/akčí:s/	pulga/flea
	/tanč/	banco/bench

/c/	/casná:t/	fierro/iron
	/'acakú:nt/	vida/life
	/nahá:c/	nueve/nine

1.1.1.3. /č̥/ and /č̥/ are voiceless palatal affricated stops [tʂʰ] and [tʂ], glottalized and plain, respectively.

/č̥/	/čaʂkát/	trabajar/work
	/ačaniy/	te gusta/you like

	/kuč/	medicina/medicine
/č/	/čawlá'/	guajolote/turkey
	/min-čo'ó/	regresar/come back
	/čunč/	así/like thus

1.1.1.4. /k̥/ and /k/ are voiceless velar stops, glottalized and plain, respectively. /k̥/ does not occur in word-final position.

/k̥/	/k̥iw/	árbol/tree
	/aqšto:ká/	brincar/jump over
/k/	/ki:w/	espinosa/chayote
	/maká'/	mano/hand
	/ɬkak/	ceniza/ash

1.1.1.5. The contrast between voiceless uvular stop /q/ and its glottalized counterpart /q̥/ is difficult to perceive. I have often relied on morphological analysis (rather than certainty of phonetic production) to write /q̥/.

/q̥/	/q̥ot̚/	tomar/drink
	/maq̥čáy/	horneas/you bake
/q/	/qastú'/	codo/elbow
	/poqš/	polvo/dust
	/špiyóq/	caracol/sea snail

1.1.1.6. /'/ is a glottal stop.

/'/	/'oš/	bueno/good
	/ʔa'á/	ganas/you win
	/maká'/	mano/hand

1.1.2. Fricatives

Fricatives /s/, /ʔ/, /š/, and /h/ are voiceless in all positions.

1.1.2.1. /s/ is a grooved alveolar sibilant similar to English /s/.

/siláq/	grillo/cricket
/casná:t/	fierro/iron
/čilí:s/	périco/parrot

1.1.2.2. /ʔ/ is a lateral fricative.

/ʔ/	/ʔí'ut/ > [ʔí'Ut]	fruta/fruit
	/'aʔún/	llorar/cry
	/čaʔ/	hijo/child

1.1.2.3. /š/ is a grooved sibilant produced in palatal position.

/š/	/ša:wt/	milpa/cornfield
	/moqšnú'/	tecolote/owl
	/čuš/	todo/all

1.1.2.4. /h/ is a glottal fricative.

/h/	/hántu/	no/no;not
	/łaháy/	gana/he wins
	/kuh/	despertarse/awaken

1.1.3. Resonants

Resonants are oral and nasal. Resonant nasals are stop-like word-initially and continuant otherwise. Word-final nasals may be deleted, leaving the rightmost stem vowel nasalized.

1.1.3.1. /m/ is a bilabial nasal.

/m/	/mik/	hielo/ice
	/sakmí/	preguntar/ask
	/puł'óm/	lodo/mud
	/šqoyá:m/ > [šqoyǎ:]	carbón/charcoal

1.1.3.2. /n/ is an alveolar nasal. It assimilates in point of articulation to a following velar stop and becomes [N]. [n] occurs elsewhere. The contrast between /n/ and /m/ is neutralized at morpheme boundary before bilabial stops (see Morphophonemics 1.5.5.).

/n/

[N]	/cankat/	[čaNkát]	caña/cane
	/kinkúštu/	[kiNkúštʊ]	mi milpa/my cornfield
[n]	/nahún/		decir/tell
	/šá:nč/		buenas tardes/hello

/sqatán/ > [sqatã] ciruela/plum

1.1.3.3. /r/ is a flapped alveolar resonant similar to Spanish /r/. /r/ is found in Spanish loanwords only.

/r/

/píru/	pero/but
/pórke/	porque/because
/pur/	por/for

1.1.3.4. /l/ is a lateral resonant.

/l/	/laqćín/	ver/see
	/čilí:s/	périco/parrot
	/wil/ > [Bil]	vivir/live

1.1.3.5. /y/ is a palatal glide.

/y/	/yuč/	él/he
	/tayá/	parar/stand
	/ʼay/	pelo/hair

1.1.3.6. /w/ is a labio-velar glide. /w/ has two allophones, 1) [B] word-initially, intervocalically and post-consonantly, and 2) [w] elsewhere. [B] is a bilabial fricative similar to Spanish [b].

/w/

[B] /wat/ > [Ba:t]	tortilla
/ciwin/ > [čiBín]	hablar/speak
/šwá:ti/ > [šBá:tɪ]	metate/quern

[w]	/čiwš/	piedra/rock
	/la'áw/	hermano/brother

1.2. Vowels

The phonemic inventory of Tepehua includes five vowels, charted as follows.

i	u
(e)	o
a	

The phonemic status of /e/ is marginal as it occurs in Spanish loanwords and in a closed set of lexical items (see 1.2.2). The phonemic status of /o/ is not completely clear. It also seems that short and long vowels contrast so that I have set up length as a significant feature of Tepehua phonology. It is characteristic of Tepehua vowels that when unstressed in word-final position they become lax and voiceless after stops, as in the following examples.

/ušint̪i/	➤	[ušint̪i̥]	tú/you
/hántu/	➤	[hántu̥]	no/no;not
/čáča/	➤	[čáčḁ]	siempre/always
/čó'o/	➤	[čó'o̥]	otra vez/again

It is fairly easy to find examples of /i/, /a/, and /u/ in contrast as follows.

/i/ vs. /a/	
/t̪in/	semilla/seed

/tan/	vienes/you come
/u/ vs. /a/	
/skaw/	conejo/rabbit
/skun/	tibio/warm
/i/ vs. /u/	
/'in/	traer/bring
/'un/	tú dices/you say

It is more difficult to find clear examples of /o/ in contrast with the other vowels, especially /u/.

/o/ vs. /a/	
/'oʃ/	(also heard as ['uʃ]) bueno/good
/'aʃ/	jícara/jug;pitcher
/o/ vs. /i/	
/çi'in/	reír/laugh
/so'ón/	temprano/early;soon
/o/ vs. /u/	
/s'oʎnín/	chiflando/whistling
/ta'úʎti/	siéntate/sit
/aki'ún/	dímelo/tell me
/puʎ'óm/	(also heard as [puʎ'úm]) lodo/mud
/ta'oʃáʎ/	hizo tarde/got dark
/uʃitnán/	vosotros/you (pl.)

I am often uncertain whether the rounded back vowel of a given item is /o/ or /u/.

1.2.1. This section treats the allophonic range of the vowels.

1.2.1.1. /i/ high, front, vowel from tense [i] when stressed, to lax [ɪ]. [ɪ] is heard primarily in unstressed closed syllables following glottalized consonants or glottal stop.

[ɪ]

/čɪ'it/ > [čɪ'ɪt] laugh/risa

/fahun-yá-fit/ > [fon-á-tɪt] estáis/you (pl.) are

[i] is heard elsewhere:

/wahin/ > [Bahɪn] comer/eat

/k'iw/ > [kiw] leña;árbol/wood;tree

1.2.1.2. The analysis of forms that exhibit [e] is problematic. The corpus shows the following behaviors of [e]:

1) [e], which I have assigned to the phoneme /e/, appears regularly in the following Spanish loanwords:

[péʃu] peso/cent

[pórke] porque/because

[léči] leche/milk

2) [e] and [ɪ] alternate in the following forms:

[ki-ʃka-ní] ~ [ki-ʃka-né] me duele/it hurts me

[ci'] ~ [ce'] muchacha/girl

[píru] ~ [péru] pero/but

3) [e] and [a] alternate, seemingly freely, in the following lexical items:

[laqaylaqčiwč] ~ [laqeylaqčiwč] gracias/thank you

[lay čɪBinín] ~ [ley čɪBinín] sabe hablar/ knows how

to speak

[miɬpaʔaláy] ~ [miɬpaʔaléy] cantas más/sing more

[iktóláy] ~ [iktóléy] me siento/ I sit down

[čay č u mé:nas] ~ [čey č u mé:nas] y Menas/and

Menas

Note that this cannot be conditioned by the /y/ which follows /a/ as verb forms other than those given above that end in /a/ do not show [a/e] alternation when inflected with {-y} 'continuative'.

[ik-'ačaláy] corro/I run

[ɬtatáy] duerme/he sleeps

[ša'aláy] saluda/he greets

I recorded only three forms which always have [e]:

/wénqen/ rana/frog

/oqé'/ luciérnaga/firefly

/tensún/ chivo/goat

It is on the basis of these three words and the Spanish borrowings that I set up a phoneme /e/. Bower-Blount has suggested to me that [e] is an allophone of /a/ conditioned by a preceding /q/ in Huehuetla Tepehua. My data do not confirm this analysis. Note that according to Watters 1980, /e/ has phonemic status in Tlachichilco Tepehua.

1.2.1.3. /a/ is a low back, unrounded vowel.

[a] /paqč/ jitomate/tomato

/'aykiwi:n/ > ['aykiBi:n] monte/hills;forest

/puɬa'ó'/ hueco/hollow

/'aʎún/

llora/he cries

1.2.1.4. /o/ is mid, back, rounded [o]. /o/ is comparatively rare in the corpus and seems to be a recent addition to the inventory of phonemes. Bower-Blount 1948 described Tepehua as having only three vowels, /a/, /i/, and /u/. However she and her former field partner Dorothy Herzog now include /o/ in the Huehuetla Tepehua vowel inventory (Bower-Blount, personal communication). /o/ is noticeably absent in the bulk of Spanish loanwords; Spanish /o/ is typically replaced by /u/ (see also Appendix I).

Spanish	Tepehua	English
peso	[péʂu]	cent
con	[kun]	with
molino	[mulínu]	mill
por	[pur]	for
rico	[ríku]	rich
chocolate	[čukuláti:]	chocolate

However in some loans, [o] alternates with [u]:

porque	[púrke] ~ [pórke]	because
pero	[píru] ~ [péro]	but

I have recorded several forms in which I hear alternately /o/ and /u/. Whether these are cases where a phoneme replaces another in a closed set of lexical items remains unclear.

'oʂ ~ 'uʂ	bueno/good
la'oʂi ~ la'uʂi	hacer bien/make well

min-čo'ó-y ~ min-čo'ú-y regresa/he comes back
 ałúnu:t ~ ałúno:t esposo/spouse
 š-'ułtu-kán ~ š-'ułto-kán fue hecho/was made
 masu-ní ~ maso-ní lo aprende/he learns it
 łahun 'ału-nú' ~ łahun 'ału-nó' está llorando/he
 is crying

1.2.1.5. /u/ high, back, rounded vowel ranges from tense [u] to lax [U]. [U] is heard primarily in unstressed syllables.

[U] /suntáw/ > [sUntáw] dinero/money
 /łí'ut/ > [łí'Ut] fruta/fruit

[u] is heard elsewhere.

[u] /pumpú'/ ropa/clothing
 /púput/ > [púpUt] espuma/foam

1.2.2. Vowel Length

I have had difficulty determining whether or not Tepehua has phonemic vowel length. I am aware that Totonacan dialects are reported to have phonemic vowel length, but I am unable to say categorically that the contrasts I have recorded are factual. One thing I can say with a fair amount of certainty: the rightmost vowel of a phrase is always long, at least in the speech of my principal informant Monica Francisco, and any length contrast is thus neutralized in that position. My notes show, nevertheless, that I have recorded with some consistency some vowels long, others short, for example:

/i/ and /i:/:	Kiw	leña; árbol/wood; tree
	ki:w	espinosa/chayote

/a/ and /a:/:	kan	sabroso/tasty
	ška:n	agua/water

/o/ and /o:/:	š'oy	perro/dog
	š'o:y	hoja de árbol/leaf

/u/ and /u:/:	putún	quieres/you want
	tu:n	tierra/land

1.3. Stress

In polysyllabic words one syllable is louder than the others. I have marked the loudest syllable with the acute stress mark, written above the vowel. I have left other syllables unmarked. Further study may reveal appropriate rules of stress placement. At this time I offer the following observations on stress placement.

Stress is word-final in 366 of the 415 lexical items recorded. The remaining 49 forms are paroxytonic. Words which end in /p/, /č/, /ć/, /q/, /'/, /h/, /l/, /ʒ/, /w/, /y/ are consistently oxytonic. Words that end in vowel, all but one short, account for 25 of the 49 examples of penultimate stress. 17 out of 49 paroxytones end in /t/. The remaining 7 items end in /k/(1), /s/(2), /š/(2), or /n/(2).

While suffixless verb stems are always oxytonic, corresponding noun stems are paroxytonic, suggesting a process analogous to that of such English noun/verb pairs as 'récess/recéss' as shown by the following examples:

/kúštu/	cornfield
/kuštú/	work in the cornfield
/čí'it/	smile, laughter
/čí'in/	laugh
/pu-táma:n/	bed
/tamá:/	go to bed

Other pairs of words, apparently derivationally linked, show stress differences as follows:

/pápa/	husband
/papá'/	male
/čó'o/	again
/-čo'ó/	'iterative'

When added to a stem word-finally the following suffixes receives primary stress:

{-ni(n)}	'unspecified object' (2.2.2.3.)
{-yan}	'2nd person object with singular subject' (2.2.1.2.2.)
{-yan}	'1st plural object with 3rd plural subject' (2.2.1.2.3.)
{-yá'}	'future with singular and 3rd plural' (2.2.4.1.5.)
{-ya}	'continuative with plural non-third subject' (2.2.5.2.2.)
{-nŮ'}	'gerundive with singular subject' (2.2.5.4.1.)
{-nin}	'gerundive with plural subject' (2.2.5.4.2.)

- {-nVn} 'customary' (2.2.5.5.)
- {-t̥it} 'imperative, plural' (2.2.6.2.2.)
- {-'an} 'plural possessor' (2.6.1.4.)
- {-nin} 'plural' (2.6.4.)

When added to a stem word-finally the second vowel (V2) of the following polysyllabic suffixes receive primary stress:

- {-č̣o'ó} 'iterative' (2.2.5.7.)
- {-palá} 'durative' (2.2.5.8.)

A third polysyllabic suffix, {-ya'i} 'future with 2nd plural subject' (2.2.4.1.6.), is never word-final but is obligatorily followed by {-t̥it} '2nd subject plural'. V2 of {-ya'i} is stressed before {-t̥it}.

Other suffixes never receive primary stress:

- {-t̥i} 'preterit with 2nd singular subject' (2.2.4.2.2.)
- {-t̥it} '2nd subject plural' (2.2.1.1.4.)
- {-ta} 'perfective' (2.2.5.3.)

The suffix {-t̥} 'preterit' has the form /lič/ (2.2.4.2.1.) which is never stressed.

1.4. Phonotactics

In this section I discuss briefly consonant clusters and Tepehua syllable types.

1.4.1. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters fall into at least four general groups.

Stop + Continuant

Stop + Stop

Continuant + Stop

Continuant + Continuant

Stops are sounds in which the airstream is completely blocked during part of their articulation. Continuants are fricatives and resonants where only partial or no obstruction of the vocal tract occurs. Not all members of each articulatory class participate in each of the four consonant cluster groups. The recorded clusters for each group are exemplified below.

1.4.1.1. Stop + Continuant

Note that affricated stops /c/, /č/, /č̣/, and /č̥/ do not occur as C1 of stop + continuant clusters. Of the glottalized consonants, only /t̥/ occurs as C1. All continuants except /h, y/ may occur in C2 position.

pš	nipš
tn	čaɬkatnán
t̥n	čaɬkaɬnán
t̥l	qóɬlič
km	ikmaqtahíy
kn	aknoná'
ks	akskítit
kɬ	ikɬtatáy
kš	atapákšat
kw	ikwahín
qɬ	maqɬiqnín

qn	maqłiqnín
qš	poqš
qs	saqs
'n	ma'níy

1.4.1.2. Stop + Stop

Affricated stops, /t/, and /'/ do not occur as C1 of stop + stop clusters. Post-palatal stops /k/, /k̥/, /q/, /q̥/, and /'/ do not occur as C2 in these clusters.

pt	š'ópta
kt	šaktamá:y
kʔ	šaktahún
kp	lakpukiw
kʔ	lakpuʔa'á
kč	kčaqš
kč	laqaylakčiwč
qt	ikmaqtahiy
qʔ	maqʔahiy
qč	paqč
qč	maqčáy
qc	aqcúł
qč	laqčín

1.4.1.3. Continuant + Stop

Voiced lateral /l/ does not occur in C1 position in clusters of this type. Affricated stop /č/ occurs as C2 with /ɬ/ and /n/ only. /c/ occurs as C2 with /n/ only.

sp	mispáy	šk	škun
sp	mispáy	š'	š'oy
st	čí:sta	šp	išpu
st	stay	šp	išpáqs
sk	skitiy	h'	šah'ačaniy
sk	skin	hk	šahkúh
sq	sqatán	hk	šahkacáy
s'	s'oliy	nt	qo:nt
ɬp	miɬpáy	nt	'inta
ɬp	miɬpáy	nc	aymoncán
ɬt	ɬtatáy	nč	tanč
ɬt	ɬtatáy	nk	tunkúh
ɬk	ɬkak	nč	kinkacáy
ɬk	čaɬkatnán	nč	ša:nč
ɬc	aɬcán	nč	kinčahá'
ɬč	čaɬč	nq	wénqen
ɬ'	taɬ'amán	nq	tanqan'áy
št	štaq	mp	pumpú'
št	štaq	mp	'impaláy
šq	šqa:m	wt	ša:wt
šq	išqót	yt	paytát

1.4.1.4. Continuant + Continuant

All fricatives may occur as C1. [l, ɬ, ʃ, m, n, w] occur in C2 position.

sl	slu:m
sm	qasmát
sn	casná:t
ɬn	čapaɬnán
ɬm	ɬman
ʃɬ	paʃɬ
ʃn	čaqʃná'
ʃw	ʃwa:t
hl	kúhlič
hn	kuhnín
wl	čawlá'
wɬ	tamáwɬ
wʃ	čiwʃ
yl	ikwáylič
yɬ	wayɬ
yn	ikwaynáw
ym	aymoncán

1.4.1.5. The following clusters of more than two consonants are recorded in the corpus.

kɬk	mákɬku
ksk	akskítit

kšp	akšpún
qšt	áqštu
qšn	čaqšná'
qsp	maqspá'
nkʔ	tankʔák

1.4.2. Syllable Types

Tepehua syllables are either open or closed but all begin with a consonant. The basic syllable configurations are exemplified below.

CV(:)	CV(:)C	CV(:)CC	CCV(:)(C)
hu	paš	poqš	stap
pu	kan	nipš	skin
lu:	ha:k	ša:wt	ško:

Some morphemes have initial vowels in their underlying forms. However, a glottal stop is automatically inserted before vowels at word boundary. Thus,

/hu#ušintʃi/ ~ [hu#ʔušintʃi] ~ tú/art + you

/kutančič#ala'ošiniʔ/ ~

[kutančič#ʔala'ošiniʔ]

ayer guisaba/yesterday he cooked

Some speakers insert glottal stop after a word-final short vowel, e.g.

/ik-'ača(n)-ni/ > [ikačaniʔ] me gusta/I like it

1.5. Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic alternations occur in stems and affixes through processes of morpheme replacement (suppletion), simplification or loss of phonological sequences, assimilation, fricativization, consonant dissimilation, vowel harmony and glottalization of consonants.

1.5.1. Morpheme Replacement (Suppletion): Stems

Two stems, {'an} and {min}, have suppletive forms, as follows.

1.5.1.1. {'an}

The stem {'an} 'ir/go' has two freely alternating suppletive 2nd person forms /'in/ and /pín/:

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------|
| 1. ik-'án | 1pl. ik-'an-á-w |
| 2. 'in/pín | 2pl. 'in-á-ťit/pín-a-ť it |
| 3. 'an | 3pl. ta-'án |

1.5.1.2. {min}

The stem {min} 'venir/come' has a suppletive 2nd person form /ťan/:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. ik-mín | 1pl. ik-min-á-w |
| 2. ťan | 2pl. ťan-á-ťit |
| 3. min | 3pl. ta-mín |

1.5.2. Morpheme Replacement: Affixes

Four affixes, {-ť} 'preterit', {a-...-ť} 'conditional', {kin-}

'1st possessor', and {min-} '2nd possessor' have a suppletive form.

1.5.2.1. {-ɬ} 'preterit' and the {-ɬ} of {a-...-ɬ} 'conditional' each are replaced by /-lič/ after stems that end in a consonant other than /š/ (/ -ɬ/ occurs elsewhere).

/ik- kuh -ɬ/ > [ihkúh-lič]

1sub-'awaken'-prt

me desperté/I awoke

/ka- ta- qót -ɬ/ > [kataqót-lič]

3cond-3psub 'drink'-cond

tomaría/he would drink

/čuku -ɬ/ > [čukú-ɬ]

'cut' -prt

cortó/he cut

/a- k- miłpa -ɬ/ > [akmiłpá-ɬ]

1cond-1sub 'sing' -cond

yo cantaría/I would sing

/ik- paš -ɬ/ > [ik-páš-ɬ]

1sub-'bathe' -prt

me bañé/I bathed

1.5.2.2. {kin-} '1st possessor' and {min-} '2nd possessor' have freely alternating suppletive forms /Ci'-/ and /Ciy-/ before stem-initial vowels.

/kin-alkut/ > [ki'-alkút] ~ [kiy-alkút]

mi hueso/my bone

/min-ay/ > [mi'-áy] ~ [miy-áy]

tu pelo/your hair

1.5.3. Simplification of Phonological Sequences

Simplification of phonological sequences occurs word-medially or word-initially.

1.5.3.1. The sequence /ahú/ becomes /o/ before a stressed suffix. I hypothesize that /h/ of this sequence is deleted between two unstressed vowels and subsequently /au/ becomes /o/.

/tahún/ 'be alive'

ik-tahún	estoy/I am
ton-á-w	estamos/we are
ton-á-tit	estáis/you (pl.) are

/nahún/ 'say'

ik-nahún	digo/I say
ik-non-á-w	decimos/we say
ka-ta-non-á'	dirán/they will say

/tamahú/ 'buy'

tamahú-y	compra/he buys
ak-tamo-yá'	compraré/I will buy
amo-yá-tit	compráis/you (pl.) buy

/puškahú/ 'look for'

kifin puškahú-y	busco/I look for
kifin puško-yá'	buscaré/I will look for

1.5.3.2. The sequence /a'u/ in the stem {ta'ulá} 'sentarse/sit down' becomes /o/ when neither of the vowels is stressed. /a'ú/ occurs in the stem alternant /ta'úʔ/ (see 1.5.6.) with 'preterit' and 'conditional' markers. Thus:

ik-ta'ú(ʔ)-ʔ	me senté/I sat down
hantu a-ta'ú(ʔ)-ʔ	no te sentarías/would you not sit down
ik-tolá-y	me siento/I sit down
ša-tolá-y	se sentó/he sat down

1.5.3.3. /hí/ simplifies to [y] when stress shifts from /hí/ to a following suffix.

ik-wahín	como/I eat
ik-wayn-á-w	comemos/we eat
wayn-á-tit	coméis/you (pl.) eat
ša-maqtahí-y	recibía/he received it
ka-maqtay-á-w	recibiremos/we will receive it
ťahun maqtay-ná'	estamos recibiendo/we are receiving it

1.5.3.4. In addition to its citation form, {hantu} 'no/no;not' has a reduced form /tu/ used in normal speech.

hantu kacá-y	no sabe/he doesn't know
tu kacá-y	no sabe/he doesn't know

1.5.4. Other Phonological Losses

In this section I discuss the coalescence of identical segments and the loss of morpheme-initial or morpheme-final segments.

1.5.4.1. Coalescence of Identical Segments

Identical segments coalesce at morpheme boundary where no rules of dissimilation obtain (see 1.5.7.). Thus:

/ki-skin-ní/ > [kiskiní]
me lo pide/he asks me for it

/iš-šká:n/ > [išká:n]
su agua/his water

1.5.4.2. Segment Loss

Segment loss occurs stem- and prefix-finally, and suffix- and prefix-initially.

1.5.4.2.1. Stem-final /n/ is lost before {-w} '1st plural subject', {-ɬ} 'preterit', and {-ɬ} of {a-...-ɬ} 'conditional'.

/ka- 'án -w / > [ka'áw]

fut- 'go' -1pl

Vamonos!/Let's go!

/ik -'aʔún -w / > [ikʔáúw]

1sub -'cry' -1pl

lloramos/we cried

/ik -wahín -w / > [ikBahíw]

1sub -'eat' -1pl

comimos/we ate

/ik -'án -ʔ / > [ikáʔ]

1sub -'go'-prt

fui/I went

/čiwin -nín-ʔ / > [čiBiniʔ]

'speaks' -cus-prt

habló de costumbre/he usually spoke

/ka -mín -ʔ/ > [kamíʔ]

3cond -'come' -3cond

vendría/he would come

1.5.4.2.2. Prefix-final /n/ of {kin-} '1st object' is lost everywhere except before plain or glottalized /t/. That is,

/kin-/ occurs before stems that begin with /t/ or /t̃/ and a nasalless allomorph /ki-/ occurs elsewhere.

/kin- ša'alá -y/ > [kiša'aláy]

1obj- 'greet' -cont

me saluda/he greets me

/kin-ta- ško:ma'án/ > [kintaško:ma'án]

1obj-3sub-'push away'

nos corretean/they push us away

/kin- tan skin -ni -ní'/ > [kin^htan skininí']

1obj- 'come' 'request'-obj-prog

me vienes pidiéndolo/you come requesting it from me

1.5.4.2.3. The /n/ of /kin-/ '1st possessor' and /min-/ '2nd possessor' is lost before fricatives, resonants and glottal stop.

/kin-šká:n/ > [ki-šká:n] mi agua/my water

/kin-maká'/ > [ki-maká'] mi mano/my hand

/kin-'áš/ > [ki-'áš] mi jicara/my jug

/min-sima'át/ > [mi-sima'át] tu lengua/your tongue

/min-la'áw/ > [mi-la'áw] tu hermano/your brother

/min-'áš/ > [mi-'áš] tu jicara/your jug

1.5.4.2.4. Suffix-initial /n/ of {-nin} 'plural' is lost after stems that end in consonant.

/ča'awašt -nín/ > [ča'awaštín]

'Totonaco' -pl

Totonacos

/papa -nín/ > [papanín]

'man' -pl

hombres/men

1.5.4.2.5. The morpheme initial /y/ of five suffixes is lost after consonant as exemplified below.

(1) {-y(a)} 'continuative'

Continuative	Gloss
/kacá-y/ > [kacáy]	sabe/he knows
/ik-'aʔún-y/ > [ikaʔún]	lloro/I cry
/kaca-yá-w/ > [kacayáw]	sabemos/we know
/-'aʔun-yá-w/ > [-'aʔunáw]	lloramos/we cry

(2) {-yá'} 'future'

/a-k-nawi-yá'/ > [akinaBiyá']	lo haré/I will make it
/paš-yá'/ > [pašá']	bañarás/you will bathe
/ka-min-yá'/ > [kaminá']	vendrá/he will come

(3) {-ya'i} '2nd plural future'

/čuku-ya'i-fit/ > [čukuya'ifit]	cortaréis/you (pl.)
	will cut

/či'in-ya'i-fit/ > [či'ina'ífit] os reiréis/you
(pl.) will laugh

(4) {-yan} '2nd singular object'

/ik-mispa-yán/ > [ikmispayán] te conozco/I know you
/k-ma'ni-putun-yán/ > [kma'niputunán] te quiero matar/I
want to kill you

(5) {-yan} '1st plural object'

/kin-ta-čapa-yán/ > [kintačapayán] nos agarran/they
satisfy us
/kin-ta-čiwima'an-yán/ > [kintačiBima'anán]
nos llaman/they
call us

1.5.4.2.6. Prefix-initial /i/ is regularly lost after a vowel at word and morpheme boundary. For the loss of suffix-initial /y/ see 1.5.4.2.5.

/ša-ik- 'ažún-y/ > [šaKažún]
imp-1sub-'cry'-cont
yo lloraba/I cried

/a- ik- min -yá'/ > [akminá']
fut- 1sub-'come'-fut
vendraé/I will come

/wa#iʃ- ʔahun#miʔpa -ná'/ > [Ba#ʃʔahun#miʔpaná']
 at #imp- 'be' #'sing' -prog
 estaba cantando/he was singing

/hantu#ik- min -y/ > [hantu#kmin]
 'neg' 1sub-'come'-cont
 no vengo/I don't come

In addition, the /i/ of {ik-} is optionally deleted phrase-initially.

ik-mi-ʔ ~ k-mi-ʔ vine/I came

ik-toʔ-putun ~ k-toʔ-putún quiero sentarme/I want to sit

1.5.4.2.7. The /k/ of {ka-} '3rd future' is lost before {kin-} '1st object'. For loss of suffix-initial /y/ see 1.5.4.2.5.

/ka- kin- sakmi -yá'/ > [a-ki-sakmi-yá']
 3fut-1obj-'preguntar'-fut
 me preguntará/he will ask me

/ka- min -yá'/ ~ [kaminá']
 3fut-'come'-fut
 vendrá/he will come

1.5.5. Homorganic Nasal Assimilation

/n/ assimilates homorganically with a following stop as follows:

(1) /n/ > /m/ before /p/ and /p̄/.

/kin- páy/ > [kimpáy]

1poss- 'father'

mi padre/my father

/'aʔun -pálá-y/ > ['aʔumpáláy]

'cry' -dur -cont

sigues llorando/you continue to cry

(2) /n/ > /m/ before bilabial fricative [B], an allophone of /w/.

/ik- ʔahun wahin -ná'/ > [ikʔahum#Bayná']

1sub- 'be' 'eat' -prog

estoy comiendo/I am eating

(3) /n/ optionally becomes /N/ before /k/, /k/ and /q/.

/kin-kuʔu/ > [kiNkúkU] ~ [kinkúkU]

mi tío/my uncle

/min-kawayu/ > [miNkawáyu] ~ [minkawáyu]

tu caballo/your horse

/kinqan/ > [kiNqán] ~ [kinqán]

el mío/mine

Because this assimilatory process is optional at morpheme boundary and because there is no phonemic contrast between /n/

and /N/, I regularly transcribe /n/, not [N].

1.5.6. Lateral Fricativization

Four stems, {t̥a'ula}, {'ačala}, {s'oli}, and {wil}, show fricativization of the lateral segment before certain suffixes as follows. The first three of these stems also show attendant stem-final vowel loss.

1.5.6.1. {t̥a'ula} 'sentarse/sit down'

(1) with {a-...-ɬ} 'conditional': (for /a'u/ > /o/ see

1.5.3.2)

/a- t̥a'uɬ-ɬ/ > [aʔa'úɬ]

2cond- 'sit'-cond

te sentarías/you would sit down

(2) with {-t̥i} 'imperative':

/a- t̥a'úɬ-t̥i/ > [aʔa'úɬt̥i]

impt-'sit'-impt

Siéntate!/Sit down!

(3) in compounds with {putún} 'querer/want to':

/hantu k-t̥a'ula-putún/ > [hantu kʔoɬputún] no quiero sentarme/
'no'1sub-'sit'-'want' don't want to sit

/iʃ-t̥a'ula-putun/ > [iʃʔoɬputún] no quería sentarse/he didn't
imp-'sit'-'want' want to sit

1.5.6.2. {'ačala} 'correr/run'

Before {-ti} 'imperative':

/a- 'ačala -ti/ > [a'ačáɬt̪ɪ]

impt- 'run' -impt

¡Corre!/Run!

1.5.6.3. {'s'oli} 'chiflar/whistle'

Before progressive suffixes {-nV'} and {-nin}: (the vowel of {nV'} is a copy of the rightmost stem vowel)

/ik- ɬahun s'oli -nV'/ > [ikɬahún s'oɬnó']

1sub- 'be' 'whistle' -prog

estoy chiflando/I am whistling

/ik- ɬahun -a -w s'oli -nin/ > [ikɬonaw s'oɬnin]

1 sub- 'be' -cont -1psub 'whistle'-prog

estamos chiflando/we are whistling

/ik- s'oli -yá -w/ > [iks'oliyáw]

1sub 'whistle' -cont-1plsub

chiflamos/we whistle

1.5.6.4. {'wil} 'vivir/live'

Before {-ti} '2nd singular subject' and {-tit} '2nd plural subject':

/wíl -ti/ > [Biɬti]

'live'-2sub

vives/you live

/ha ta- wíl -tit/ > [ha taBiɬtit]

inter. accm-'live'-2plsub

¿Vivéis juntos?/Do you (pl.) live together?

/ik- ta- wíl/ > [ikɬawíl]

1sub- accm- 'live'

vivo con él/I live with him

1.5.7. Consonant Dissimilation

The /k/ of {ik-} '1st subject' and {lak-} 'plural subject' dissimilates to /h/ before a stem which begins in /k/ or /k/.

/ik- kaca -yá -w/ > [ihkacayáw]

1sub- 'know'-cont-1plsub

sabemos/we know

/ik- lak- kuštu -yá -w/ > [iklahkuštuyáw]

1sub- plsub- 'weed'-cont-1plsub

escardamos/we weed

/ik- páš/ > [ikpáš]

1sub- 'bathe'

me baño/I bathe

/ta- lak- ċiwin-nin/ > [talakċiBinin]

3plsub-psub- 'say'-cus

dicen/they say

For some speakers the fricativization of /k/ also takes place before stems that begin in /'/. For loss of suffix-initial /y/ see 1.5.4.2.5.

/ta- lak- 'aʒún-y/ > [talah'aʒún]

3plsub-psub- 'cry'-cont

lloran/they cry

1.5.8. Vowel Harmony

The vowel of {-nV'} 'singular gerundive' and {-nVn} 'customary' is a copy of the rightmost vowel of the stem. The suffix vowel is never long. When the rightmost stem vowel is /o/, the suffix vowel is heard as either /o/ or /u/, as in the final example.

(1) {-nV'}

ik-ťahun laštu-nú'	estoy escardando/I am weeding
ťahun a-pa:ċi:-ní'	está amarrando/he is gathering
ťahun ʒa'ala-ná'	está saludando/he is greeting
ťahun ǵoť-nó' ~	está tomando/he is drinking
ťahun ǵoť-nú'	

(2) {-nVn}

hantu 'aʒtuh-nún	no brinca/he doesn't jump
a-pa:ċi:-nín	amarra/he gathers
aʒta(n)-nán	camina/he walks

1.5.9. Glottalization of Stops

All stops in a stem marked for 2nd person subject are regularly glottalized. Stem /h/ in such forms is replaced by /'/.

/čapá-ťi/ > [čapá-ťɪ] agarra/he catches

/Kaca-yá-ťit/ > [kača-yá-ťit] sabéis/you (pl.) know

/kuh/ > [ku'] despiertas/you awaken

1.5.10. Sandhi

In this section I discuss assimilation, segment loss and vowel length across word boundaries.

1.5.10.1. The /h/ of {hu} 'article' is lost following a word that ends in consonant.

/k-manu-ya-w#hu#mákɪku/ > [kmanuyaw#u#mákɪkʊ]

metimos la luz/we installed the electricity

/iʃ-kiɪpa'#hu#šká:n/ > [iʃkiɪpá'#u#šká:n]

la orilla del río/riverbank

/wa#mati#hu#suntáw/ > [Ba#mati#hu#suntáw]

no hay dinero/there is no money

1.5.10.2. Word-final /ɬ/ is voiced before the consonantless allomorph of {hu} 'article'.

/ik-mi-ɬ#hu#kutánčič/ > [ikmil#u#kutánčič]

vine ayer/I came yesterday

/yuč# š-ɨ#hu#skúmiɨ/ > [yuč#pa'šl#u#skúmiɨ]

quebró la olla/he broke the pot

1.5.10.3. The /'/ of {-yá'} 'future' is lost before enclitic {č} 'punctual' with compensatory lengthening of the rightmost vowel.

/ik- skiŋi -yá' č/ > [ikskiŋiyá:#č]

1sub 'grind'-fut pt

yo muelo/I grind

/ka- taya -yá' č/ > [katayayá:#č]

3fut- 'build'-fut pt

lo parará/he will build it

1.5.10.4. The /š/ of {tahúš} is lost before enclitic {č} 'punctual'.

/tahuš č ni wa 'impaláy/ [tahu#č#ni#Ba#'impaláy]

¿Por qué sigues yendo?/Why do you keep going?

2.0. Morphology

Tepehua morphemes may be roots, particles, clitics, and affixes. Roots may be distinguished from the other three classes by their ability to accept inflectional affixes. Particles are free morphemes that carry stress. Uninflected words found in the corpus belong in the particle category. Clitics are free morphemes that never are stressed. Affixes are bound morphemes. Roots may be divided into two classes, verb and noun. Members of

the verb class accept person, tense, aspect, mood, voice, and number affixes. Nouns accept possessive markers. Most roots range in length from one to two syllables. Longer forms are probably further analyzable.

Root-compounding is a productive means of stem-formation in Tepehua. A number of apparently derivational affixes further increase the semantic range of simple and compound stems.

Verb and noun morphology is complex and I focus on identifying relevant affixes and their attendant morphophonemic behavior. Clitics and uninflected words (particles) are listed and tentatively classified in Sec. 2.4. and 2.7., respectively.

2.1. Verb forms

Verb forms may be simple or complex.

2.1.1. Simple verb forms

A simple or finite verb form consists of a verb stem inflected for person, tense, aspect, mood and number, as below. (For loss of suffix-initial /y/ see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.5.)

šakaʔunáw llorábamos/we cried

ša- k- 'aʔun -yá -w

imp- 1sub- 'cry' -cont -1pl

2.1.2. Complex verb forms

A complex or gerundive verb form consists of an auxiliary and a gerundive (see Auxiliaries 2.3.). The auxiliary is inflected for person, tense, aspect, and mood; the gerundive is inflected for

number (singular or plural subject). The suffixes {-nV'} 'singular progressive' and {-nín} 'plural progressive' mark number on the gerundive.

šaktahunaw		'aʔunín	estábamos		llorando/we were crying	
ša-	k-	ťahun	-ya	-w	'aʔu(n)	-nín
imp-	1sub-	aux	-cont	-1plsub	'cry'	-plprog

2.2. Verbal affixes

Inflectional and derivational affixes are added to verb roots. Prefixes and suffixes interact in such a way that a relatively small set of affixes gives rise to a large number of temporal and aspectual markings as discussed below. Since I am unable at present to discern between inflectional and derivational affixes. I will discuss them without attempting to divide them into the two types. References to Herzog's work on Tepehua verb morphology refer to her paper "Person, Number and Tense in the Tepehua Verb" (no date) in which she gives a detailed account of the internal structure of the Tepehua verb. While my analysis does not always parallel hers, much of my analysis is guided by her insights. References to Bower-Blount's analysis refer to discussions I had with her in February and March of 1987, unless otherwise noted.

2.2.1. Pronominal Reference

Person of subject and object is marked on the verb by means of affixes. Optionally, independent pronouns accompany verb forms (see Independent Pronouns 2.7.9.).

1. kiťín
2. ušintí
3. yuč
- 1pl. kitnán
- 2pl. ušitnán
- 3pl. yu'úně

2.2.1.1 Subject

Subject person reference is accomplished by means of affixes and consonant changes. Herzog reports a distinction between inclusive and exclusive person reference (p. 47ff.). I have not found evidence of this distinction in my data (see also 2.2.4.1.2.).

2.2.1.1.1. 1st singular subject: {ik-}

{ik-} has variants /(i)k-/ and /(i)h-/ as follows (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.):

1) The vowelless allomorph /k-/ occurs a) after a vowel at word and morpheme boundaries and b) as a free alternant of /ik-/ (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.).

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| a) hantu k-čažkat-nam-putún | no quiero trabajar/I
don't want to work |
| Ba k-ťahun čaqa-ná' | estoy lavando/I am
washing |
| na k-'ača(n)-ní | me gusta/I like it |
| ša-k-mispá-y | yo conocía/I knew it |

a-k-min-á'

vendré/I will sell

b) ik-miłpá-y ~ k-miłpá-y yo canto/I sing

ik-'ačalá-y ~ k-'ačalá-y yo corro/I run

ik-toł-putún ~ k-toł-putún quiero sentarme/I
want to sit down

Watters 1980 finds 1st singular subject /ik-/ to be an 'uncommon alternant form' of {k-} '1st subject' in the Tlachichilco dialect of Tepehua (p. 91). Herzog reports only {ik-} for Huehuetla Tepehua.

2) The /k/ of {ik-} dissimilates to /h/ before stems that begin with /k/.

/ik-kúh/ > [ih-kúh] me despierto/I awaken

/ša-k-kacá-y/ > [ša-h-kacá-y] yo sabía/I knew

/hantu k-kacá-y/ > [hantu h-kacá-y] yo no sé/I don't know

3) /ik-/ occurs elsewhere.

ik-wahín yo como/I eat

ik-mi-ł ċ ya vine/I came

ik-'ałún yo lloro/ I cry

2.2.1.1.2. 1st plural subject: {(ik-)...-w}

{-w} '1st plural subject' alone or in combination with {ik-} (see above) marks 1st plural subjects. {-w} is always word-final
/ik-...-w/

ik-makɬku-'ulá-w ċ pusimos la luz/we turned on the
light

ik-mispa-yá-w conocemos/we know

ik-wahí-w ċ comimos/we ate

ik-mí-w ċ vinimos/we came

/-w/

ašani-yá-w respiramos/we breathe

ka-maqča-yá-w haremos/we will make

ča'š-á-w cortamos/we cut

fol-á-w ċ nos sentamos/we sat down

non-á-w dijimos/we said

This function of {-w} as subject marker is part of what Herzog identifies and attributes to {-u:} 'plural non-third agent or goal or both' (p. 50). I have several forms in which {-w} appears to mark 1st plural goal (see Object 2.2.1.2.4.) but I am uncertain about the connections of these morphemes.

2.2.1.1.3. 2nd singular subject: word-internal consonant changes

2nd singular subject is regularly marked by two phonological processes: 1) glottalization of all stops in the verb form and 2) replacement of stem /h/ with /'/.

Unmodified
Stem

ɬtatá-y ċ ya duermes/you sleep /ɬtatá/

ki-ski(n)-ní	me lo pides/you request it	/skin/
hantu a-miɬpá-ti	¡No cantas!/Don't sing!	/miɬpá/
tančo'ó-y	regresas/you come back	/minčo'ó/
ɬa'áy	ganas/you win	/ɬahá/
tas na'ún ċ	¿Qué dices?/What do you say?	/nahún/
tama'ú-y ċ	compras/you buy	/tamahú/

2.2.1.1.4. 2nd plural subject: {-tít} with word-internal consonant changes

Together with the consonant changes just described for 2nd singular subject, the suffix {-tít} marks 2nd plural subject. {-tít} is always word-final.

'aɬún-tít	llorastéis/you (pl.) cried
páɬ-tít	vos bañastéis/you (pl.) bathed
ačala-yá-tít	corréis/you (pl.) run
ša-kača-yá-tít	sabíais/you (pl.) knew
la'oši-yá-tít	guisáis/you (pl.) cook
čačá-tít	cortáis/you (pl.) cut
š-tan-á-tít	veníais/you (pl.) came

The gloss that Herzog gives to {-tít} is 'second person plural subject and third person goal' (p. 50) but my data compel me to state that a goal need be either expressed in an adjunct or implied.

2.2.1.1.5. 3rd singular subject

3rd singular subject is unmarked.

yuč kací-y	él sabe/he knows
ša-kací-y	él sabía/he knew
min	viene/he comes
ka-min-á'	vendrá/he will come

2.2.1.1.6. 3rd plural subject: {ta-}

ta-čiwinín	hablan/they speak
iš-ta-čan hu kúštu	sembraron el maíz/they planted corn
ka-ta-lani-yá'	aprenderán/they will learn
wa ta-'aŋta-nán	caminan/they walk
ta-ťahun way-nín	están comiendo/they are eating

2.2.1.1.7. Plural subject: {lak-}

{lak-} adds plural subject reference to verb forms and must co-occur in addition to plural subject pronouns discussed above. It is not clear how plural forms with {lak-} differ from those without it.

1pl

ka-lak-sakmi-ya-w ċ	preguntaremos a ellos/we will ask
u yu'únċ	them
na k-lak-taŋan-á-w	lo tememos/we are afraid of it

2pl

lak-ťa-ťama:-ya-ťit	os acostáis con el puerco/you
u pás	(pl.) lie down with the pig

3pl

hu yu'unč wa š-ta-lak-tanqan'á-y ellos se enfermaban/they
were sick

hantu ta-lak-'ažú-ž no lloraron/they didn't
cry

2.2.1.1.8. Summary of Subject Pronoun Reference

	Singular	Plural
1st person	{ik-}	{{ik-} (lak-)...-w}
2nd person	Consonant Modification	Consonant + {(lak-)...-tit} Modification
3rd person	∅	{ta-...(lak-)}

Sample paradigms:

{mižpa} 'cantar/sing'		{nahun} 'decir/say'	
ik-mižpá-y	canto	ik-nahún	digo
mižpá-y	cantas	na'ún	dices
mižpá-y	canta	nahún	dice
mižpa-yá-w	cantamos	non-á-w	decimos
mižpá-tit	cantáis	non-á-tit	decéis
ta-mižpá-y	cantan	ta-nahún	dicen

{tanqan'a} 'estar enfermo/be sick'

ik-tanqan'á-y estoy enfermo

tanqan'á-y estás enfermo

tanqan'á-y está enfermo

ik-lak-tanqan'a-yá-w estamos enfermos

lak-tanqan'a-yá-tit estáis enfermos

ta-lak-tanqan'á-y están enfermos

For the stem change in {nahun} see Morphophonemics 1.5.3.1.

2.2.1.2. Object

Affixes added to the verb stem mark object person in correlation with subject persons. The set I have extracted from the corpus forms what seems an incomplete paradigm as follows:

	1	2	3	1p	2p	3p	Subject
Object							
1		kin-	kin-			kin-	
2	-yan		-yan				
3	-ni/∅	-ni/∅	-ni/∅	-ni/∅	-ni/∅	-ni/∅	
1pl			kin-...(-w)			kin-...-yan/-w	
2pl	?		?	?		?	
3pl	?	?		?	?		

2.2.1.2.1. 1st person object with singular and 3rd plural

subject: {kin-}

{kin-} marks 1st person object but often translates as English

indirect object. Its nasalless allomorph /ki-/ occurs everywhere except before /t/ and /t̥/ (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.2.).

kin-ta-sakmí-y	me preguntan/they ask me
kin-ta-'aɬtayhú-y	nos ayudan/they help us
kin-tan ski(n)-ni-ní'	me vienes pidiéndolo/you
	come asking me for it
yuč ki-ski(n)-ni-ɬ	él me lo pidió/he asked me
	for it
hantu a-ki-'un ɬú	¡No me digas más!/Don't tell
	me more!

2.2.1.2.2. 2nd person singular object with singular subject:
{-yan}

{-yan} has allomorph /-an/ after stems that end in consonants (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.5.).

ik-mispa-yán	te conozco/I know you
hantu k-laka'i-ni-yán	no te creo/I don't believe
	you
hantu k-ma'ni-putun-án	no quiero matarte/I don't
	want to kill you
ik-hun-putun-án	quiero decirte/I want to
	tell you

2.2.1.2.3. 1st plural object with 3rd plural subject: {-yan}

{-yan} appears to add plural object reference to stems marked by {kin-} '1st object'. This marking occurs with 3rd plural

subject marker {ta-}. As above, /-yan/ becomes /-an/ after stems that end in consonant (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.5.).

kin-ta-sakmi-yán ě	nos preguntan/they ask us
kin-ta-'uʔtu-yán	nos hicieron/they did thus to us
ša-kin-ta-štaqni-yán	nos daban/they gave us
kin-ta-maltratala-yán	nos maltratan/they mistreat us

The corpus contains several forms in which {-yan} is not present but the Spanish gloss remains identical to that given for the {kin-} + {ta-}...{-yan} complex.

kin-ta-'uʔtú-n ě	nos hicieron así/they did thus to us
kin-ta-štaqni-y	nos dieron/they gave us
kin-ta-'aʔtayhú-y	nos ayudan/they help us

Further data might suggest a more restrictive interpretation of {-yan}.

2.2.1.2.4. 1st plural object with 3rd subject: {-w}

I recorded only three forms with this suffix. Each is translated 1st plural object with 3rd subject. I include them here only as signposts to further investigation, noting that Herzog reports that {-u:} denotes 'plural non-third agent or goal, or both.' Note that {-w} may co-occur with {kin-} '1st object'. The final example includes {-kan} 'passive'.

yuč mispa-w u kutánčič	nos conoció ayer/he met us yesterday
yuč ka-sakmí-w	nos preguntará/he will ask us
kin-ta-štagni-kan-a-w hu tó:rta	somos dado pan/bread is given to us

2.2.2. Transitivity

Verb roots may be inherently transitive or intransitive. A transitive root may accept pronominal object markers added directly to the stem (see Object 2.2.1.2.). An inherently intransitive root never shows object reference.

Transitive root: ša'ala 'saludar/greet'

yuč ki-ša'alá-y él me saluda/he greets me

yuč ša'ala-yán él te saluda/he greets you

Intransitive root: min 'venir/come'

ik- mín

1sub-'come'

vengo/I come

a -k -min -á'

fut-1sub-'come'-fut

vendré/I will come

Affixes added to roots may change their inherent value, deriving detransitivized and transitivized stems.

2.2.2.1. Detransitivizer: {a-}...{-nVn}

Transitive verb stems are detransitivized by adding {a-} 'intransitive' and {-nVn} 'customary' directly to the stem.

hun decir/say

transitive: yuč ki- hún
'he' 1obj-'tell'

me dice/he tells me

detransitivized: a- hun -(n)in
intr-'speak' -cus
habla/he speaks

kaca saber/know

transitive: yuč kacá -y
'he' 'know' -cont

lo sabe/he knows it

detransitivized: a- kaca -nán
intr-'know' -cus
es inteligente/he's intelligent

2.2.2.2. Causative: {ma:-}

Inherently intransitive stems may be transitivized by adding {ma:-} 'causative' directly to the verb stem.

ʔtata dormir/sleep

intransitive: ik- ʔtatá -y
1sub-'sleep'-cont
duermo/I sleep

transitivized: ki- ma:- ʔtatá -y
 1obj-caus-'sleep'-cont
 me acuesta/he makes me sleep

'aʔun llorar/cry

intransitive: ik-'aʔún

transitivized: yuč ki- ma:- 'aʔún
 'he' 1obj-caus-'cry'
 me hace llorar/he makes me cry

2.2.2.3. Unspecified Object: {-nin}

A small number of stems are transitivized by {-nin}
 'unspecified object'. Object pronouns may then be added. That
 is, stems with {-nin} and object pronouns show object person
 reference; stems with {-nin} but no object pronouns imply an
 object, which remains unspecified. Herzog glosses the affix
 'goal' but does not discuss its relationship to the object
 pronouns. {-nin} has allomorph /-ni/, the distribution of which
 remains unclear. The following sets of examples show the
 approximate function of {-nin}.

ʃtaq dar/give

ik-ʃtáq	lo doy/I give
ik-ʃtaq-ní-y	lo doy/I give something
ik-ʃtaq-ni-putun-án	quiero dártelo/I want to give you (something)

a-ki-štaq-nin

¡Dámelo!/Give me (something)!

masu enseñar/teach

k-masú-y

enseño/I teach

k-masu-ní

lo enseño/I teach something

ki-masu-ní

me enseña/he teaches me (something)

k-masu-ni-yán

te enseño/I teach you (something)

a-masu-nin ċ

¡Enséñame!/Teach me (something)!

skin pedir/request

ik-skín

pido/I request

ik-ski(n)-ni-yá-w

pedimos/we request something

a-ski(n)-nin ċ

¡Pídelo!/Request something!

ki-ski(n)-ní

me pide/he requests (something)

Another set of examples shows that {-nin} 'unspecified object' added to the stem /'ula/ 'poner/put' derives a stem /'ulani/ that means 'pegar/hit'. The semantic connections are not entirely clear but the examples may be useful nevertheless.

'ula poner/put

k-'ulá-y

pongo/I put

k-'ula-yá-w

ponemos/we put

ki-'ula-ní

me pega/he hits me

Other stems which may be affixed with {-nin} are:

čukú	cortar/cut (with knife)
šká	dañar/hurt
'ačán	querer/like
laka'i	creer/believe
mačišťáq	prestar/lend
ma'čiskín	pedir prestado/borrow

The stem /hun/ 'decir/tell' does not always require {-nin} in conjunction with object pronouns. This may be a peculiarity of the stem, but it underscores the present difficulties I have in discerning the function and behavior of {-nin}. Compare the following:

a-ki-'un-čó'o ¡Dime otra vez!/Tell me again!

ik-hum-putun-án te quiero decir/ I want to tell you

vs.

ki-hu(n)-ní me dice/he tells me (something)

ki-hu(n)-ni-ká-ť me fue dicho/I was told (something)

Note that in this example {-nin} co-occurs with {-kan} 'passive' (see 2.2.3.). For the loss of suffix-final /n/ see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1. The co-occurrence of {-nin} and {-kan} is not peculiar to the root {hun}.

a-k-čuku-ni-ka-ť hu ki-'áy	tendría cortado mi
	pelo/I would have
	my hair cut

'ula-ni-ka-ɬ hu as'át

fue pegado la niña/the girl
was beaten

2.2.3. Passive: {-kan}

Passive voice is marked on the verb stem by {-kan}. This suffix indicates that the subject of the predicate is also the recipient of an action. {-kan} has allomorph {-ka} before {-ɬ} 'preterit' (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.). I do not have passive forms (with {-kan}) that are accompanied by an expressed agent.

ik-ča'š-ká-ɬ

fui macheteado/I was cut

k-qasmať taču non-kán

entiendo cómo se habla/I

understand how it is spoken

wa nawi-kan u šapawá:t

está hecho el pan/the bread is
made

k-lak-ma:-ɬtata-kan-á-w

somos acostados (en la cama)/we
are made to sleep

Note that {-kan} may co-occur with {-nin} 'unspecified object' (see Transitivity 2.2.2.3.). In the first example below, the /k/ of {-kan} is glottalized, indicating 2nd subject (see Subject 2.2.1.1.3.).

tahuš ni 'ula-ni-kán ċ

¿Por qué estás pegado?/Why are
you beaten?

a-k-čuku-ni-ka-ɬ u ki-'áy	lo haré cortado el pelo/I will have my hair cut
ki-hun-i-ká-ɬ	me habló/I was told
kin-ta-štag-ni-kan-a-w č tó:rta	somos dados tortas/we were given bread

2.2.4. Tense

Tense is marked on the verb or auxiliary by a set of affixes in various combinations. For purposes of intelligibility I will give full paradigms for each tense.

2.2.4.1. Future

Two prefixes and three suffixes, in the combinations charted below for each person of the paradigm, mark future.

1.	(a-)	-yá'
2.	a-	-yá'
3.	ka-	-yá'
1pl.	ka-	
2pl.		-ya'í
3pl.	ka-	-yá'

2.2.4.1.1. Future with 1st singular: {a-}

{a-} optionally co-occurs with {-yá'} to mark future tense with 1st singular subject. Where {a-} does co-occur with 1st singular subject, {a-} precedes the vowelless allomorph of {ik-} '1st singular subject' (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.).

a-k-nawi-yá'	lo haré/I will make it
ɬi a-k-lani-yá'	mañana aprenderé/tomorrow I will learn it
a-k-ni-yá'	moriré/I will die

1st singular subject without {a-}:

ik-skiti-yá'	moleré/I will grind
ik-'ula-yá'	pondré/I will put

2.2.4.1.2. Future with 2nd singular: {a-}

{a -} co-occurs with {-ya'} to mark future tense with 2nd singular subject.

a-nawi-yá'	lo harás/you will make it
a-ni-yá'	morirás/you will die
a-skiti-yá'	lo molerás/you will grind it

Herzog reports that {a-} + {ik-}...{-ya:} marks future for 1st plural exclusive forms. My data do not confirm a distinction between inclusive/exclusive reference in the 1st plural subject forms. However two utterances were translated as 1st plural subject forms with {a-}.

ɬi a-k-lani-yá-w	mañana aprenderemos/tomorrow we will learn it
a-k-ma'ni-ya-w u pás	mataremos el puerco/we will kill the pig

All other future 1st plural forms I recorded are marked by {ka-} (see 2.2.4.1.3.).

2.2.4.1.3. Future with 3rd singular and plural: {ka-}

{ka-} in combination with future suffix {-yá'} marks future with 3rd singular and plural subject. {ka-} has allomorph {a-} before 1st object marker {ki-} (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.7.).

ka-lani-yá'	aprenderá/he will learn it
ka-łtata-yá'	dormirá/he will sleep
ka-ta-kaca-yá'	sabrán/they will know
ka-ta-min-á'	vendrán/they will come
yuč a-ki-sakmi-yá'	él me preguntará/he will ask me

2.2.4.1.4. Future with 1st plural: {ka-}

{ka-} co-occurs with aspectual suffix {-ya} 'continuative' (see Aspect 2.2.5.2.2.) to mark future tense with 1st plural subject.

ka-sakmi-yá-w	preguntaremos/we will ask
ka-min-á-w	vendremos/we will come

2.2.4.1.5. Future with singular and 3rd plural: {-yá'}

{-yá'} occurs with future prefixes {a-} and {ka-} as discussed above. {-yá'} is always word final and stressed (see Stress 1.3.). {-yá'} has allomorphs /-yá:/, /-á:/, /-á'/ and /-yá'/. /-yá:/ occurs before postclitic {č} 'punctual'; /-á:/ occurs before {č} after stems that end in consonant (see Morphophonemics 1.5.10.3.) /-á'/ occurs after stems that end in consonant (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.5.). /-yá'/ occurs elsewhere.

/-yá:/

ni-yá: č

moriré/I will die

ka-ta-kaca-yá: ċ	ellos sabrán/they will
	know

/-á:/

ik-'an-á: ċ	iré/I will go
ka-wahin-á: ċ	comerá/he will eat

/-á'/

a-k-non-á'	diré/I will say
ka-ta-non-á'	dirán/they will say

/-yá'/

a-k-nawi-yá'	haré/I will make
a-nawi-yá'	harás/you will make
ka-mispa-yá'	sabrá/he will know
ka-ta-mispa-yá'	sabrán/they will know

2.2.4.1.6. Future with 2nd plural: {-ya'í}

{-ya'í} is added directly to the verb stem. It co-occurs with {-ťit} '2nd plural subject' and attendant 2nd subject consonant modifications (see Morphophonemics 1.5.9.) to mark future tense with 2nd plural subject. Herzog says that prefix {a-} also occurs in 2nd plural subject future forms. This is not confirmed by my data. {-ya'í} has allomorph /-a'í/ after stems that end in consonant (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.5.).

ćuću-ya'í-ťit	fumaréis/you (pl.) will smoke
---------------	-------------------------------

ɬi ni-ya'i-ɬit	mañana moriréis/tomorrow you (pl.) will die
'aɬta-nan-a'i-ɬit	caminaréis/you (pl.) will walk
'aɬun-a'i-ɬit	lloraréis/you (pl.) will cry

2.2.4.2. Preterit

Two suffixes mark preterit. 1st and 2nd plural subject are unmarked. These forms are distinguished as preterit by the conspicuous absence of {-ya} 'continuative'. Compare the following forms:

continuative:	ik-ski(n)-ni-yá-w	lo pedimos/we request it
preterit:	ik-ski(n)-ní-w ɛ	ya lo pedimos/we requested it
continuative:	ski(n)-ni-yá-ɬit	lo pedís/you (pl.) request it
preterit:	ski(n)-ní-ɬit	lo pedisteis/you (pl.) requested it

All other subject persons are marked by one of two suffixes, here charted as a paradigm:

1.	-ɬ
2.	-ɬi
3.	-ɬ
1pl.	
2pl.	
3pl.	-ɬ

2.2.4.2.1. Preterit with 1st and 3rd singular, and 3rd plural:

{-ɬ}

{-ɬ} marks preterit tense with 1st and 3rd singular subject and 3rd plural subject. A morphophonemic alternant of {-ɬ} is

/-lič/, a form which occurs after stems which underlyingly end in any consonant except /ʃ/ (see Morphophonemics 1.5.2.). /-ɬ/ occurs elsewhere. Stem-final /n/ of /'aʎun/ is deleted before {-ɬ} (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.).

/-lič/

k-ǵóť-lič	tomé/I drank
ǵóť-lič	tomó/he drank
ta-ǵóť-lič	tomaron/they drank

/-ɬ/

ik-ní-ɬ	mori/I died
ní-ɬ	murió/he died
ta-ní-ɬ	murieron/they died

k-ča'š-ɬ	u kíw	corté la leña/I cut wood
ča'š-ɬ		cortó/he cut wood
ta-ča'š-ɬ		cortaron/they cut wood

k-'aʎú-ɬ	lloré/I cried
'aʎú-ɬ	lloró/he cried
ta-'aʎú-ɬ	lloraron/they cried

/-lič/ may be further analyzable as /-li/ 'preterit' plus /č/ 'punctual'. If this analysis is warranted /-li/ would always be followed by /č/ whereas /-ɬ/ is not.

2.2.4.2.2. Preterit with 2nd singular: {-ti}

{-ti} marks preterit tense with 2nd singular subject. {-ti} co-occurs with 2nd subject consonant modifications (see Morphophonemics 1.5.9.).

paš-ti u kutánč	bañaste ayer/you bathed
	yesterday
wiɬ-ti	viviste/you lived

2.2.5. Aspect

Aspect is marked on the verb by means of affixes, each alone or in the combinations described below.

2.2.5.1. Imperfective

There seem to be two imperfectives, one consisting of {ša-} plus {-y(a)}, and the other of {iš-} plus {-y(a)}, charted here by subject person:

(1)

1.	ša-	-y
2.	ša-	-y
3.	ša-	-y
1pl.	ša-	-ya

2pl.	\$a-	-ya
3pl.	\$a-	-y

(2)

1.	iš-	-y
2.	iš-	-y
3.	iš-	-y
1pl.	iš-	-ya
2pl.	iš-	-ya
3pl.	iš-	-y

Herzog gives two glosses for the forms with {\$a-} that co-occur with the suffix {-y(a)} 'continuative' as follows: 1)

'imperfect' with 1st singular and 1st plural exclusive subject persons, 2) 'past continuous' with all subject persons. She gives one gloss for the forms with {iš-} plus {-y(a)}:

'imperfect' with 2nd singular, 1st plural inclusive, 2nd, and 3rd plural subject persons. My informants translated verb forms with {\$a-} and {iš-}, both for all subject persons, with Spanish imperfect or compound past continuatives of the form 'estar' + gerund. Without detailed analysis of these forms as they occur in texts I cannot determine the precise difference between {\$a-} and {iš-}. I gloss all the forms which follow with the Spanish imperfect.

2.2.5.1.1. Imperfect (1) with all subject persons: {\$a-}

{a-} combines with 'continuative' suffix {-y(a)} (see

2.2.5.2.) to mark imperfective aspect with all subject pronouns. In 1st subject forms with {ša-} the vowelless allomorph of {ik-} occurs (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.). {ik-} is obligatory with 1st plural subject in forms with {ša-}.

ša-k-miḷpá-y	(yo) cantaba/I sang
ša-miḷpá-y	cantabas/you sang
ša-miḷpá-y	(él) cantaba/he sang
ša-k-miḷpa-yá-w	cantábamos/we sang
ša-miḷpa-yá-ṭit	cantabais/you (pl.) sang
ša-ta-miḷpá-y	cantaban/they sing

2.2.5.1.2. Imperfect (2) with all subject persons: {iṣ-}

{iṣ-} combines with {-y(a)} 'continuative' (see 2.2.5.2.) to mark imperfective aspect with all subject pronouns. {iṣ-} is reduced to /ṣ-/ after a vowel at word boundary (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.). It is likely an accident of the data that I do not have an example of {iṣ-} with 2nd singular subject except in the vowelless form.

iṣ-i(k)-kacá-y	(yo) sabía/I knew
iṣ-kacá-y	(él) sabía/he knew
iṣ-kaca-yá-w	sabíamos/we knew
iṣ-kaća-yá-ṭit	sabíais/you (pl.) knew
iṣ-ta-kacá-y	sabían/they knew
wa ṣ-ik-ṭanqan'á-y	(yo) estaba enfermo/I was sick
wa ṣ-ṭanqan'á-y	estabas enfermo/you were sick
wa ṣ-ta-ṭanqan'á-y	estaban enfermos/they were sick

2.2.5.2. Continuative

The continuative is marked by {-y} or {-ya} depending on the subject person, as charted:

1.	-y
2.	-y
3.	-y
1pl.	-ya
2pl.	-ya
3pl.	-y

2.2.5.2.1. Continuative with singular and 3rd plural: {-y}

{-y} occurs alone with subject markers or in combination with {ša-} or {iš-} (see 2.2.5.1.). {-y} has allomorph {0} after stems that end in consonant. /-y/ occurs elsewhere. In the following forms with /mispa/ 'conocer/know' I use the English gloss 'know' in the sense of 'be familiar with'. Bower-Blount and Watters (1986) report that /mispa/ and /kaca/ 'saber/know' share the semantic complementarity described for Spanish 'conocer/saber'.

/ik-'aʒun-y/	> [ik-'aʒún}	lloro/I cry
/ik-paš-y/	> [ik-páš]	me baño/I bathe
/ta-wil-y/	> [ta-ʒíl]	viven/they live
ik-mispá-y		conozco/I know
mispá-y		conoces/you know
mispá-y		conoce/he knows
ta-mispá-y		conocen/they know

ša-k-mispá-y	conocía/I knew
iš-kačá-y	sabían/they knew

2.2.5.2.2. Continuative with 1st and 2nd plural: {-ya}

{-ya} is added directly to the stem to mark continuative aspect. Subject pronominal {-w} '1st plural' or {-tit} '2nd plural' follow. {-ya} may co-occur with tense/aspect markers {ka-} (see Tense 2.2.4.1.4.), or {ša-} and {iš-} 'imperfective' (see 2.2.5.1.). {-ya} does not occur in preterit, conditional or hortative forms. {-ya} has allomorph /-a/ after stems that end in consonant, /-ya/ elsewhere.

k-'aḷun-á-w	lloramos/we cry
k-wayn-á-w	comemos/we eat
wayn-á-tit	coméis/you (pl.) eat
ik-maqča-yá-w	horneamos/we bake
aša:ni-yá-w	respiramos/we breathe
ka-maqča-yá-w	hornearemos/we will bake
iš-ton-a-w ni-nín	estabamos muriendo/we were dying
'ačala-yá-tit	corréis/you (pl.) run
ša-kača-yá-tit	sabíais/you (pl.) knew

2.2.5.3. Perfective

The perfective suffix is {-ta} for all singular subject persons. I have no data with plural subject persons.

1. -ta
2. -ta

3.	-ta
1pl.	no data
2pl.	no data
3pl.	no data

Herzog glosses this morpheme 'perfect' with singular and 3rd plural subject. {-ta} is always word-final and occurs after object pronoun {-yan} '2nd singular object' in the first example below. For loss of suffix-initial /y/ see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.

ik-hun-putun-án-ta	quise decírtelo/I wanted to tell you
wa 'aʔtan-a-'án-ta	fue a caminar/he went walking
min-ta ċ ki-ski(n)-ni-ní'	me vino pidiéndolo/he came requesting it of me
ta-min-ta hu ʔi-yáku	vino con Diego/he came with Diego

Herzog also reports tha {-ta} co-occurs with {ša-} to mark 'past perfect' with 1st singular subject, and that {iš-} marks 'past perfect' with 2nd and 3rd singular, and 3rd plural subjects. I do not have parallel forms.

2.2.5.4. Progressive (Gerundive)

Two suffixes added to verb stems yield gerundive forms. {-nV'} is added to singular subject person forms; {-nín} is added to plural subject person forms. Gerundives, preceded by

appropriately inflected auxiliaries constitute progressive forms (see also Complex Verb Forms 2.1.2.).

1.	-nV'
2.	-nV'
3.	-nV'
1pl.	-nin
2pl.	-nin
3pl.	-nin

2.2.5.4.1. Gerundive with singular subject: {-nV'}

The vowel of this suffix is a copy of the rightmost stem vowel. {-nV'} is always word-final and stressed (see Stress 1.3.). Subject reference is not marked on gerundives, but object reference may be.

wa k-ti'an paš-ná'	estoy bañándome/I am bathing
inčič lakpuča'a-ná'	¡Vete a lavar la cara!/Go wash your face!
iš-ťahun kaca-ná'	(él) estaba sabiendo/he was aware

In the following examples, {-nV'} follows {-nin} 'unspecified object' which is attached directly to the stem.

wa ša-k-ťahun hu(n)-ni(n)-ní'	estaba yo diciéndolo/ I was saying it
min-ta č ki-ski(n)-ni(n)-ní'	me vino pidiéndolo/he came requesting it of me

2.2.5.4.2. Gerundive with plural subject: {-nín}

{-nín} is always word-final and stressed.

ik- ^h ton-a-w	kaca-nín	estamos sabiendo/we are aware
ton-a- ^h tit	maqča-nín	estáis horneando/you (pl.) are baking
ta-'a- ^h	paš-nín	fueron bañándose/they were bathing

I do not have forms with {-nín} preceded by {-nín} 'unspecified object' and I remain uncertain about possible connections between the two suffixes.

2.2.5.5. Customary

The customary suffix is {-nVn} for all subject persons. {-nVn} occurs with intransitive and detransitivized ({a-} 'intransitivizer + transitive stem) verbs immediately following the stem (see Transitivity 2.2.2.). The suffix vowel is a copy of the rightmost stem vowel.

Intransitive stems with {-nVn}:

'a ^h ta(n)-nán	camina/he walks
'ati(n)-nín	baila/he dances
'a ^h tuh-nún	brinca/he jumps

Detransitivized stems with {-nVn}:

a-la'oš <i>i</i> (n)-nín	guisa/he cooks
a-pa:š <i>i</i> :-nín	amarra/he gathers

Subject pronouns and tense/aspect suffixes follow {-nVn}. The final /n/ of {-nVn} drops out before {-^h} 'preterit'.

k-a-la'oši(n)-nin-á-w	guisamos/we cook
a-la'oši(n)-nin-á-tit	guisáis/you (pl.) cook
ak-'aṭi(n)-nin-á'	bailaré/I will dance
a-la'oši(n)-á'	guisarás/you will cook
ṭaṭkat-ná-ṭ	trabajó/he worked

2.2.5.6. Completive

The completive suffix is {-'o} for all subject persons. This suffix added directly to the stem emphasizes the exhaustive manner of an action. In the following forms {-'o} may be interpreted to correspond to English 'all of it'.

ni pa:ṭi:-'o ċ ka-'á-w ċ	cuando amarres todo, ¡Vámonos!/when you gather all of it, let's go!
a-k-hun-'o-yá'	diré todo/I will tell all of it

2.2.5.7. Iterative

The iterative suffix is {-č'o'o} for all subject persons. In English such forms can be glossed 'stem + again'. At least one tense/aspect suffix, {-y}, may follow it.

a-ki-'un-čó'o	¡Dime otra vez!/Tell me again!
ik-min-č'o'ó-y	regreso/I come again
ša-'an-č'o'ó-y	regresabas/you came again

{-č'o'o} appears to be related to {č'o'o}, a particle I gloss as English 'again' (see Adverbs 2.7.10.).

2.2.5.8. Durative

The durative suffix is {-pala} for all subject persons. In English such forms can be glossed 'continue to + stem'. The forms below show {-y} 'continuative', {-ya'} 'future', and {-w} '1st plural subject' following {-pala}.

tahu ċ ni wa 'aḷum-ḡalá-y	¿Por qué lloras?/Why do you
	continue to cry?

tahu ċ ni wa miḷḡa-ḡalá-y	¿Por qué cantas?/Why do you
	continue to sing?

hu ḷi a-k-skiti-pala-yá'	mañana molereé más/tomorrow I
	will continue to grind it

k-'am-palá-w	fuimos otra vez/we continued
	going

2.2.6. Mood

Mood affixes mark the attitude of the subject toward an event, state or action. Mood is marked on the verb by means of a prefix/suffix complex, except in hortative forms where a prefix only marks mood.

2.2.6.1. Conditional

The conditional, equivalent to English 'would', is marked by the following combination of prefixes and suffixes, by subject person.

- | | | |
|----|----|----|
| 1. | a- | -ḷ |
| 2. | a- | -ḷ |

3.	ka-	-ɿ
1pl.	no data	
2pl.	no data	
3pl.	ka-	-ɿ

Note that the prefixes of this set are identical in shape and distribution to future prefixes; the suffixes that mark mood are identical in shape and distribution to preterit suffixes in all but the 2nd singular person (see Tense 2.2.4.).

2.2.6.1.1. Conditional with 1st and 2nd singular subject:

{a-...-ɿ}

{a-} co-occurs with {-ɿ} to mark conditional mood with 1st and 2nd singular subject. The vowelless variant of {ik-} '1st subject' immediately follows {a-} before the stem (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.6.).

a-k-ti-mi-ɿ	yo vendría/I would come
ha a-ta'û-ɿ	¿No te sentarías?/Wouldn't you sit down?

2.2.6.1.2. Conditional with 3rd subject: {ka-...-ɿ}

{ka-} co-occurs with {-ɿ} to mark conditional mood with 3rd subject. Pronominal {ta-} '3rd plural subject' immediately follows {ka-} before the stem.

ka-ti-mi-ɿ	él vendría/he would come
ka-ta-mi-ɿ	vendrían/they would come

Herzog says that {-ɿ} occurs with aspectual prefixes {ša-} and

{iš-} to mark predicates as 'contrary to fact'. I lack data that confirm these occurrences.

2.2.6.2. Imperative

Imperative singular forms are marked by an obligatory prefix {a-} and an optional suffix {-ti}. Imperative plural forms are marked by {a-} and {-tit}, both obligatory.

2.	a-	(-ti)
2pl.	a-	-tit

2.2.6.2.1. Imperative with singular subject: {a-...(-ti)}

{a-} and optionally {-ti} mark imperative mood for 2nd singular subject. Stem-final /n/ is deleted before {-ti} (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.). Other rules of subject person marking consonant changes apply (see Morphophonemics 1.5.9.).

a-táyá	¡Párate!/Stop!
hantu a-čiwin	¡No hables!/Don't speak!
a-tá-ti ē	¡Ven!/Come!
a-pa:či:-ti ē	¡Amárralo!/Gather it!
hantu a miłpá-ti ē	¡No cantes!/Don't sing!

2.2.6.2.2. Imperative with plural subject: {a-...-tit}

{a-} co-occurs with {-tit} to mark imperative mood for 2nd plural subject. Other rules of consonant changes apply.

a-łtatá-tit	¡Os dormid!/Sleep!
-------------	--------------------

hantu a-ťamá:-ťit ¡No os acostéis!/Don't go to
bed!

Enclitic {č} 'punctual' frequently follows imperative forms. The final /t/ of {-ťit} coalesces with {č}. In such cases the surface forms for singular and plural subject are identical.

sing.: /a-ťan-ťi č/ ~ [a-ťá-ťi č] ¡Ven!/Come!

plural: /a-ťan-ťit č/ ~ [a-ťá-ťi] ¡Vended!/Come!

sing.: /a-mižpa-ťi č/ ~ [a-mižpá-ťi č] ¡Canta!/Sing!

plural: /a-mižpa-ťit č/ ~ [a-mižpá-ťi č] ¡Cantad!/Sing!

Herzog reports that {-ťi} co-occurs with aspectual marker {iž-} 'imperfect' to mark predicates as 'contrary to fact'. I lack such data.

2.2.6.3. Hortative

The hortative prefix is {ka-} for 1st plural subject persons. I do not have data for 1st singular forms.

1. no data

1pl. ka-

{ka-} marks 1st plural hortative with 1st plural subject marker {-w}. The conspicuous absence of {-ya} 'continuative' distinguishes 1st plural hortative forms from 1st plural future forms. Note that stem-final /n/ is deleted before {-w} in both of the following forms (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.).

hortative: ka-'á-w č ¡Vamonos!/Let's go!

future: ka-'an-á-w č iremos/we will go

hortative:	ka-wahí-w ċ	¡Comemos!/Let's eat!
future:	ka-wayn-á-w ċ	comeremos/we will eat

2.2.7. Other Verbal Affixes

Here I discuss six prefixes, by all appearances derivational, that can be added to verb stems.

2.2.7.1. {lak-}

Prefixed to verb stems, {lak-} adds a locative reference. It seems related to {laka-} which added to nouns corresponds to English 'in' or 'on'.

laka-putama:n lak-ma:-ġtatá-y se acuesta en la cama/he
goes to sleep in the bed

ik-lak-ma:-má:-y me acuesto adentro/I lie
down in it

2.2.7.2. {pu-}

Utterances with prefix {pu-} added to verb stems follow. Herzog glosses {pu-} 'by this means' or 'instrumental'. The examples she gives indicate that it is not required that the speaker specify 'this means', the instrumental referent. The utterances here are accompanied by the glosses given me by my informants.

kitnan ċ	ša-	k-	pu-	'an -á	-w
'we'	pt	imp-	1sub-inst-	'go'-cont	-1pl

íbamos a caballo/we went on horseback

wa pu- 'ačan u šká:n

cltc inst-'like' art 'water'

está jugando en el agua/he is playing in the water

na pu- éi:s -ta ka kin-ča'á'

cltc inst 'dark' -pft 'still' 'my-house'

se hizo oscuro mi casa/my house is still darkened

2.2.7.3. {ɬi-}

Utterances with prefix {ɬi-} added to verb stems follow.

Herzog and Watters gloss {ɬi-} 'referent' which corresponds at least in part to English 'of' or 'about'. The glosses offered by my informants accompany each form.

hu ušintí na ɬi- 'akatan u šá:pun

art 'you' ref- 'smell of' art 'soap'

tú hueles a jabón/you smell of soap

kača -ya'i -ɬit -č u ki- ɬi- magni -putún

'know' -ft -2plsub -pt art 1obj- ref- 'kill' -'want to'

sabréis por qué me lo quiere matar/you (pl.) will know why he
wants to kill him for me

ša- k- ɬi- 'a- štaɣni -ya -w hu iš-mángu

imp-1sub ref- ?- 'give' -cont -1pl art 'his-mangos'

por eso dábamos sus mangos/for that reason we gave away his

mangos

{*ʔi-*} affixed to {*min*} 'venir/come' is translated as 'bring', hinting at a causative-like function.

<i>ʔi-min-ta u ki-š'óy</i>	trajo mi perro/he brought my dog
<i>ta-ʔi-min u iš-š'oy-'an</i> <i>u lapanák</i>	los señores traen el perro/ the men bring their dog(s)
<i>ʔi-min hu i(š)-š'óy u</i> <i>iš-la'áw</i>	su hermano trae su perro/his brother brings his dog

2.2.7.4. {*ʔa-*}

This prefix adds the notion that the subject is accompanied by someone/something. {*ʔa-*} corresponds to English 'with X', 'along with X', or 'together (with X)'. 'X' may or may not be expressed as an adjunct. Subject pronouns precede {*ʔa-*}.

<i>wa k-ʔahun ʔa-čiwi(n)-nin</i> <i>u iš-la'áw</i>	estoy hablando con su hermano/I am talking with her brother
<i>ʔa-min-ta hu ʔi yáku</i>	vino con Diego/he came with Diego
<i>ʔa-ʔa'uʔ č u yúč</i>	te sientas con él/you sit with him
<i>lak-ʔa-ʔama:-ya-ťit č</i> <i>u pás</i>	os acostáis con el puerco/you (pl.) lie down with the pig
<i>wa k-ʔa-čiwi(n)-nin</i>	hablo con él/I speak with him
<i>hantu a-ʔa-ʔa'uʔ</i>	No te sentarías con él/You wouldn't sit with him

2.2.7.5. {ti-}

This prefix occurs with two verb stems {'an} 'ir/go' and {min} 'venir/come'. Although both {'an} and {min} function as auxiliaries as well as full verb roots, {ti-} occurs with {'an} only when the latter functions as an auxiliary and with {min} only when {min} functions as a full verb form (see Auxiliaries 2.3.2.). The function of {ti-} remains unclear. Note that the final /n/ of {min} is deleted before {-ɬ} 'conditional' (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.).

ha ti-'an maq̃a'a-ná'	¿Vas lavando las manos?/Are you washing your hands?
hu kitin k-ti-'an ča'š-ná'	yo voy cortando leña/I go cutting firewood
hantu a-k-ti-mí-ɬ	yo no vendría/I wouldn't go
hu yuč na taʒanan hantu ka-ti-mí-ɬ	él tiene miedo, no vendría/he's afraid, he wouldn't go

2.2.7.6. {la-}

The corpus contains the following utterance with {la-} which Bower-Blount translated as 'reciprocal'.

ik-lak-la-hun-á-w č	decimos entre nosotros/we say among ourselves
---------------------	--

2.3. Auxiliaries

Tepehua has auxiliaries which carry notions such as 'be in the process of', 'go to' and 'come to'. An auxiliary is that part of

a compound (gerundive) verb phrase which carries person, tense and number markings and immediately precedes a gerundive. A gerundive may be recognized by its {-nŭ'} (singular) or {-nín} (plural) ending (see Aspect 2.2.5.4.). Each of the auxiliaries I have identified is a verb root that accepts a full range of inflectional affixes. Two of these auxiliaries also participate in verb compounds described in section 2.5.

2.3.1. {tahun}

{tahun} has been translated 'be alive' by Herzog and Watters. I recorded three utterances in which {tahun} appears outside of a compound verb phrase:

na 'oš tahun u šká:n	hay mucha tormenta/it's storming
hu čaway na tahun u šká:n	ahora es temporada de lluvia/it's
	the rainy season

ta-tahun ka	todavía viven/they still live
-------------	-------------------------------

I gloss the following examples as progressive forms. My informants translated gerundive forms with {tahun} with Spanish compound continuatives of the form 'estar'+ present participle, some of which ring ungrammatical in Spanish and English. I translate Spanish 'saber' as English 'be aware' in order to minimize the awkwardness of the translations.

wa k-tahun ałtan-á'	estoy caminando/I am walking
tahun qot-nó'	estás tomando/you are
	drinking
iš-tahun kaca-ná'	estaba sabiendo/he was
	aware

ša-k-ṭon-a-w Kaca-nin	estábamos sabiendo/we were aware
wa iṣ-ṭon-a-ṭit Kaca-nin	estabais sabiendo/you (pl.) were aware
ta-ṭahun Kaca-nin	están sabiendo/they are aware

2.3.2. {'an}

{'an} can be glossed as Spanish 'ir', (English 'go').

ik-'an-á: ċ	iré/I will go
hu yuč 'án	él va/he goes

Gerundive verb forms with {'an} can be translated as 'go + verb':

lay-ċ 'an 'i(n)-ni' u i(ṣ)-šká:n ya sabe ir a traer su
agua/she is able
to go get her water

hu yuč wa cáča 'an čaqš-na' él va siempre cortando
hu kíw leña/he always goes
cutting firewood

hu yu'unċ ta-'a(n)-ṭ paš-nin ellos fueron bañándose/
they went bathing

In the final example, the /n/ of {'an/ is deleted before /-ṭ/
'preterit' (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.).

The stem {'an} has an alternant {'in/ (with apparent ablaut)
in 2nd person forms (see Morphophonemics 1.5.1.1.).

a-'in-a' ačoǵnu-nú'	irás a escribir/you will go write
---------------------	--------------------------------------

a-'in-a' paš-ná'

irás a bañarte/you will go
bathing

I analyze /'inčič/, glossed by my informants as '¡Vete!' ('Go!') as based on this allomorph of {'an}. Bower-Blount observed that /'inčič/ is analyzable as /'in/ + /čič/, a variant form of {č} 'punctual'. She also noted that the alternant form /p'inčič/ is commonly used by older Tepehuas. I heard /'inčič/ as the standard among younger Tepehuas, including my 12 and 14 year-old informants. It is usually followed by a gerundive.

'inčič laqči-ní'

¡Vete a ver!/Go see!

'inčič lakpučaqa-ná'

¡Vete a lavar la cara!/Go
wash your face!

'inčič 'ula-'a(n)-ná'

¡Vete a ponerlo!/Go put it
down!

{an} is frequently preceded by the prefix {ti-}. The function of {ti-} remains unclear (see Other Verb Affixes 2.2.7.4.).

hu yuč ti-'an maqča'a-ná'

él va lavando las manos/he
is washing his hands

2.3.3. {min}

Forms such as

min-ta č ki-ski(n)-ni-ní'

me vino pidiéndolo/he came
requesting it

suggest that {min} 'venir/come' is an auxiliary. {min} also

occurs in verb compounds in the same manner that /'an/ does (see Verb Compounding 2.5.2.).

2.4. Verb Clitics

Three clitics, {wa}, {na} and {č}, are tied phonologically to verb forms, each adding aspectoidal notions which are difficult to pinpoint. {č} also accompanies some nouns and uninflected words. These morphemes are always unstressed and by themselves cannot stand as utterances. The first two are proclitic, the third enclitic.

2.4.1. {wa} and {na}

Bower-Blount suggested to me that {wa} can be translated as 'just' or 'only'. She translated {na} as 'very'. My data indicate that {na}, which occurs before verb forms, corresponds more closely to English 'really'. Whatever the most appropriate translation of these proclitics, {wa} and {na} show sometimes complementary distribution, sometimes free alternation. Thus:

1) {na} modifies expressions with /'alin/ 'haber/exist' but {wa} never does.

na 'alin šqán	hay moscas/there are flies
na 'alin šumpípi	hay cucarachas/there are cockroaches

2) {wa} modifies noun phrases containing numerals, but {na} never does.

wa tam óra	trabajé una hora/I worked
hu ša-k-čaʔkat-nán	for (just) one hour
wa laqa-tam u kin-kučilo	no más tengo un cuchillo/I
	have only one knife

3) {na} modifies expressions that contain the quantifier /ʔu/ 'mucho/many', but {wa} never does.

na ʔu 'alin u čáq	hay muchos pajaritos/there are
	many small birds
na ʔu 'alin u kíw	hay muchos árboles/there are
	many trees

4) {na} regularly modifies certain adjective-like words which {wa} does not.

na 'óš	es bueno/it is good
na kán	es sabroso/it is tasty
na ʔmá:n	está largo/it is long

5) Otherwise {wa} and {na} occur in the same types of expressions, without apparent difference in meaning.

na ʔtatá-y	duerme
wa ʔtatá-y	duerme
ʔtatá-y	duerme
na čaʔkat-nán	él trabaja/he works
na čí'in	ries/you laugh

na sáqs	está dulce/it is sweet
wa k-tała-nán	tengo miedo/I am afraid
wa miłpá-y	canta/he sings
wa skún	está tibio/it is warm

Consider, finally, the fact that {wa} and {na} may occur in the same verb form:

wa na kan š-ta-ł'ula-y u tó:rta	les parece sabrosa la
	torta/they think the
	bread is tasty

2.4.2. {č} 'punctual'

This enclitic emphasizes the specific time at which an action occurs. It parallels the distribution of Spanish 'ya' with past predicates and 'ahorita' with non-past forms. (There is some overlap of these two readings just as with English 'already' and 'now'.) Its distribution and frequency varies from speaker to speaker.

ik-čapá-ł č	ya amarré/I already gathered
kacá-y č	ya sabes/you already know
a-laqčí č	¡Ve!/Look!
ka-ta-kaca-yá: č	ahorita sabrán/now they will
	know
ča'á-w č	ya lavamos/we already bathed

Note that the function of {č} is not limited to that of verb clitic. It may also accompany independent pronouns, nouns, adverbial particles, deictics, interrogatives and negatives,

where it appears to mark the emphatic mood of the speaker.

kiŋin ċ puško-yá'	yo buscaré/I will look
lak-ška:n ċ k-mastu-yá'	lo tiraré en el agua/I will throw it in the water
aní ċ	aquí/here
wačú ċ	también/also
hántu ċ	no/not;no
lay ċ	puede/be able
kután ċ	ayer/yesterday
na kán ċ	está sabroso/it's good

2.5. Verb compounding

{'an} 'ir/go', {min} 'venir/come' and {putun} 'querer/want', all of which are verb roots that accept a full range of inflectional affixes, combine with other verb stems to form compound verb stems. {'an}, {min} and {putun} are always the second member of the compound. Person, tense, aspect or mood suffixes follow. {'an} and possibly {min} also function as auxiliaries in compound verb forms (see Auxiliaries 2.3.).

2.5.1. {'an}

Compounds formed with /'an/ 'ir/go' correspond to English 'go' + present participle. Note that no gerundive is involved in these Tepehua forms. In the following examples /'an/ is added to /'aʔtán/ 'caminar/walk', following a connective affix {-a-}. The function of {-a-} may be to prevent a */n'/ cluster, unattested

in my corpus (see Clusters 1.4.1.). I do not have examples of {'an} added to other stems. For loss of stem-final /n/ see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.

k-'aʔtan-a-'an-á' iré a caminar/I will go walking

ta-'aʔtan-a-'á-ʔ fueron a caminar/they went walking

{ 'an } has stem alternant /'in/ in second person forms:

wa 'aʔtan-a-'in-ta has ido a caminar/you have gone walking

'aʔtan-a-'im-palá-y vas a seguir caminando/you still go
walking

In the last example, the /n/ of /'in/ regularly assimilates to /p/ (see Morphophonemics 1.5.5.).

2.5.2. {min}

{min} 'venir/come' is added to a variety of stems. Such forms can be translated as English 'come' + present participle. Note that no gerundive is involved in the Tepehua forms. The final /n/ of /min/ is deleted before {-ʔ} 'preterit' (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.1.).

ik-'ačala-mi-ʔ ani corrí aquí/I came here running

yuč čí'i-mí-ʔ vino riendo/he came smiling

Even though I cannot translate {'aka}, the form /'akamín/ 'oler/smell of' seems to be a compound formed with /min/. /'akamín/ shows the same stem alternations as /min/. That is, the form /ʔan/ replaces /min/ in second person forms (see Morphophonemics 1.5.1.2.).

'aka-min-a-w u šá:pun olemos a jabón/we smell of soap

'aka-tan u šá:pun hueles a jabón/you smell of soap

2.5.3. {putun}

{putun} added directly to a variety of roots adds the notion 'want to':

yuč hantu mim-putún él no quiere venir/he doesn't want to
come

wa k-ma'ni-putun-án quiero matarte/I want to kill you

ša-k-ťoť-putun-á-w queríamos sentarnos/we wanted to sit down

2.6. Noun forms

Nouns accept a limited number of inflectional and derivational affixes, but the principal criterion for distinguishing noun forms is their ability to accept possessive affixes. Plural is not marked except on nominals referring to people.

2.6.1. Possession

Nominal stems accept a limited set of affixes that mark possession for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, as charted below. The suffix {-an} adds plural possessor reference and must co-occur with a possessive prefix.

- | | | |
|------|------|-----|
| 1. | kin- | |
| 2. | min- | |
| 3. | iš- | |
| 1pl. | kin- | -an |

2pl. min- -'an

3pl. iš- -'an

{kin-} and {min-} have the following allomorphy:

{Cin-} > /Cin-/ with nasal homorganic with stem-initial
stop (see Morphophonemics 1.5.5.)
/Ci'-/ or /Ciy-/ before vowels (see
Morphophonemics 1.5.2.2.)
/Ci-/ elsewhere, that is, before continuants,
resonants and glottal stop (see
Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.3.)

2.6.1.1. 1st person possessor: {kin-}

/kin-/:	kin-pištú'	mi cuello/my neck
	kin-kíw [kiN-kíw]	mi leña/my firewood
	kin-qaqštá' [kiN-qaqštá']	mi labio/my lip
	kin-táku	mi esposa/my wife
	kin-či:lá'	mi pollo/my pullet
	kin-cinkákas	mi piloncillo/my sugar
/ki'-/:	ki'-a:tú'	mi pierna/my leg
	kiy-a:tú'	
/ki-/:	ki-sima'át	mi lengua/my tongue
	ki-łi-čáłkat	mi trabajo/my work
	ki-šká:n	mi agua/my water
	ki-maká'	mi mano/my hand
	ki-nát	mi madre/my mother
	ki-la'áw	mi hermano/my brother

ki-wáyt

mi comida/my food

2.6.1.2. 2nd person possessor: {min-}

/min-/:	mim-pištú'	tu cuello/your neck
	min-kíw [miN-kíw]	tu leña/your firewood
	min-qaqštá' [miN-qaqštá']	tu labio/your lip
	min-táku	tu mujer/your woman
	min-či:lá'	tu pollo/your pullet
	min-cinkákas	tu piloncillo/your sugar
/mi'-/:	mi'-a:tú'	tu pierna/your leg
	miy-a:tú'	
/mi-/:	mi-sima'át	tu lengua/your tongue
	mi-łi-čáłkat	tu trabajo/you work
	mi-šká:n	tu agua/your water
	mi-maká'	tu mano/your hand
	mi-nát	tu madre/your mother
	mi-la'áw	tu hermano/your brother
	mi-wáyt	tu comida/your food

2.6.1.3. 3rd person possessor: {iš-}

{iš-} is reduced to /š-/ after vowels at word boundary.

iš-kiłčá:wt	su barba/his beard
iš-'áłkut	su hueso/his bone
iš-pumpú'	su ropa/ his clothing

łi-min-ta hu š-'ó:ya trajo su olla/he brought his pot

la š-putahun ša-k-muhú-y lo echaba en la cuna/I put her
in the crib

2.6.1.4. Plural possessor: {-an}

ki-la'aw-'án	nuestro hermano/our brother
mi-la'aw-'án	vuestro hermano/your (pl.) brother
iš-la'aw-'án	su hermano/their brother

2.6.2. Plural

A group of noun stems that refer to people show suffix {-nin} in forms translated as plural nouns. I do not have data demonstrating how or if {-nin} co-occurs with {-an} 'plural possessor'. {-nin} has allomorph /-in/ after consonants, /-nin/ elsewhere (see Morphophonemics 1.5.4.2.4.). /la'aw/ shows a change in the stem for which I cannot account.

Singular		Plural
ča'awášt	Totonaco/totonac	ča'awašt-in
la'áw	hermano/brother	'ala'aw-in
ací'	muchacha/girl	aci'-in
táku	mujer/woman;wife	taku-nin
pápa	esposo/man;husband	papa-nin
kaču:pín	gachupín/foreigner	kaču:pi(n)-nin

2.6.3. Other Nominal Affixes

Two affixes, {laka-} and {pu-...(-n)}, may be added to noun stems with apparent case and derivational functions,

respectively.

2.6.3.1. Locative: {laka-}

{laka-} translates as English 'on' or 'in'. It has variants /lak-/ and /laka-/, the distribution of which remains unclear.

laka-miša k-ma:-ma:-yá'	lo dejaré en la mesa/I will leave it on the table
wa laka-ťun ša-ki-ma:má:-y	él me acostaba en el suelo/he laid me down on the floor
hantu atam pin u lak-misa	tú nunca vas a la misa/you never go to mass
ma:-muštu-yan lak-šká:n	te hace llevar el río/he makes you float away in the river
ih-ki-tol-a-w u lak-'aykiwí:n	nos sentamos en el monte/we settled in the forest

Some compound noun stems can be analyzed as consisting of two roots and a morpheme /lak-/ seemingly related to {laka-}. The examples with /pu/ 'cara/face' which follow may be interpreted as 'X on the face'.

lak-pu-ķiw	pómulo/cheekbone
'on-face-wood'	
lak-pu-ťá:wt	ceja;pestaña/eyebrow;eyelash

'on-face-hair'

lak-pu-stáp niña del ojo/pupil

'on-face-bean'

lak-pu-'aʒút	lágrima/tear
--------------	--------------

'on-face-cry?

Another morpheme, {la-}, may also be related to {laka-}.

/la-/ immediately precedes possessed nouns and is translated 'in' or 'on'. In the second example {i\$-} '3rd possessor' becomes /\$-/ following /la-/.

[illegible]

u la-mim-pu-tolán Sit in your seat!

la-š-putahun ša-k-muhú-y la echaba en la cuna/I put her
in the crib

ik-'ula-ni-ɬ u la-ki-maká' la pegué con la mano/I hit
her with my hand

2.6.3.2. {pu-...(-n)}

This morpheme appears to nominalize verb forms, that is, a verb root marked with {pu-...(-n)} can accept possessive and case markers. {pu-...(-n)} may be related to the verbal affix {pu-} 'instrumental' (see 2.2.7.2.). Consider the following examples:

v. tamá: 'acostar/go to bed(sleep)'

n. pu-táma:-n 'cama/bed'

hu ušinfī tahuš ni hantu fama:-putun u laka-putáma:n

¿Por qué no quieres acostarte en la cama?/Why don't you want
to go to sleep in the bed?

v. ṭa'ula 'sentarse/sit down'

n. pu-fola-n 'asiento/chair;seat

ak-ṭol-a: ẽ hu la-mim-putolán

me sentaré en tu asiento/I will sit in your seat

I also recorded the noun /pusantu/ inflected for 1st possessor:

pusántu 'altar/altar'

kim-pusántu 'mi altar/my altar'

I hypothesize that /pusantu/ may be analyzed as {pu-} + the Spanish loan {santu} 'santo/saint' meaning 'used for saint(s)'. Connections between {pu-...(-n)} with noun forms and {pu-} with verb forms remain unclear.

2.7. Uninflected words

The corpus contains uninflected words that correspond to English particles, pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs. I have little or no morphological basis upon which to distinguish word classes among uninflected words because I concentrated on studying verb morphology while in the field. I divide uninflected words here largely by their translations and I am aware that these words await a thorough morpho-syntactic analysis I cannot attempt at this time. All of the following examples are glossed in English unless the Spanish is instructive.

2.7.1. Conjunctions

I identified three conjunctions in Tepehua: two Spanish

loanwords {pórke} 'porque/because' and {píru} 'pero/but'; and {čay} 'y/and'. These conjunctions join two clauses or smaller constituents.

2.7.1.1. {pórke} was ubiquitous in the speech of my principal informant Monica Francisco who as a rule borrowed Spanish lexical items liberally. I noted however, that she did not substitute Spanish interrogative 'por qué?' for the native interrogative {tahuš} (see 2.7.2.2.).

na pučí:sta ka hu kin-ča'a' porke ni wa ik-póvri č
my house is still darkened because I am poor

klah'ałunaw č porke klahputunaw č u wá:t
we cry because we want tortillas

2.7.1.2. /píru/ 'pero/but' alternates freely with /pero/.

kintaša'alayan píru hantu šakqasmafáw
they greet us but we don't hear/understand

taťahun ka pero ni wa póvrič
they live still but (they) are poor

2.7.1.3. {čay} is translated by Herzog as 'and'. I recorded only two utterances with {čay}:

hu yuč silia 'ału-ł čay č hu anu mučač wariyu waču 'ału-ł
Celia cried and that girl from the neighborhood also cried

čay č u me:nas waču 'ažú-ž

And Mena also cried

2.7.2. Interrogative

Interrogatives {ha}, {tahúš}, and {taswanán} precede the constituent they modify.

2.7.2.1. {ha} marks the clause it modifies as a question, the answer to which is of the yes/no type.

ha ača(n)-ni ni k-miłpá-y ¿Te gusta cuando canto?/Do you
like it when I sing?

ha fam-pufun u ušinti ¿Tú quieres venir?/Do you want
to come?

2.7.2.2. {tahúš} 'why?' is frequently followed by /ni/ (see 2.7.4.4.). When immediately followed by enclitic {č} 'punctual', the final /š/ of /tahúš/ is deleted (see Morphophonemics 1.5.10.4.).

tahuš ži-akafan č u čukuláti: Why do you smell of
chocolate?

tahu č ni wa mi-aqstu 'im-ǵalá-y Why do you continue to go
alone?

tahu č ni wa 'ažún č Why do you cry?

2.7.2.3. {taswanán} 'when?'

taswanan ċ u ša-kila-y	When did you go to market?
u lakłitamáy	
taswanan u ša-min u yuč	When did he come?

2.7.3. Negative

Negative particles {hántu} and {nin} precede a whole clause.

2.7.3.1. {hántu} adds the notion 'not' to clauses. It also corresponds to English 'no'. /hántu/ alternates freely with its reduced variant /tu/ (see Morphophonemics 1.5.3.4.).

hantu kačá-y	you don't know
hantu a-ta'úł ċ	you wouldn't sit down
(han)tu ka k-manu-ya-w u mákiku	still we do not have electricity
(han)tu lay čiwi-nin u łima'ał'amá'	he doesn't know how to speak Tepehua

{hántu} may stand alone as a full constituent and translates as the English negative response 'no'.

čunč u hántu	yes or no
--------------	-----------

2.7.3.2. {nin} corresponds to Spanish 'ni' (English 'neither;nor;not') in the following utterances:

nin ki-ška:n nin 'alin nin túwu	ni mi agua ni hay, ni
	tubo/there is neither
	water, nor pipes

nin tu'u ša-k-łi-tahū-y

ni nada encontraba/I

found nothing

2.7.4. Relativizers

Relative pronouns {hu} 'that;the one who', {tis} 'which', {tisčaway} 'who' and {ni} 'when' precede a whole clause. {tis} and {tisčaway} appear to be related. Both these morphemes may mark the clause they precede as a question.

2.7.4.1. As a relativizer {hu} corresponds to English 'that' and 'the one who'. {hu} has allomorph /u/ after words that end in consonant (see Morphophonemics 1.5.10.1.). /hu/ occurs elsewhere.

hu leči yuč u wa de wóti:č
 art 'milk' 'it is' 'that' 'from (the) bottle'
 milk (that is) from the bottle

kim-papa u šma'nikán
 'my-father' 'the one who' 'was killed'
 My father was killed

'ał u 'minčo'ól
 'he left' 'the one who' 'came back'
 he came back and left (again)

hu ušinfí hu šala'ošinin

art 'you' 'the one who' 'was cooking'

You were (doing the) cooking

2.7.4.2. {tis} 'which'

tis hun-kán ċ

What is he called?

tis kansyon ċ u miłpa-y

Which song is the man

u lapanák

singing?

hantu iš-kaca-y tis kansyon

He didn't know which song

u miłpa-y u lapanák

the man was singing

2.7.4.3. {tisčawáy} 'who'

tisčaway ċ u miłpá-y

Who is singing?

hu yuč hantu k-mispa-y

I don't know him,

tisčawáy ċ

who is he?

hantu iš-kaca-y tisčaway

he didn't know who

u ša-'ułtú-y

was making it

2.7.4.4. {ni} translates most frequently as 'when'. Bower-Blount suggested that it also translates as 'since' but I do not have data that confirm such translation.

ni šakmin ikačalamíł when I came, I came running

ni pa:či:'o ċ ka'áw ċ when you gather it all, let's go

ikałtuhnuł ni škatinín I jumped when I was dancing

There is a {ni} which often occurs after {tahúš} and {pórke} and may be a related morpheme. I cannot identify a function or provide a gloss for the morpheme, but two examples follow:

tahuš ni tu lay ċ makaškiwikinín

Why don't you know how
to swim?

porke ni wa kačán ċ

because I like it

2.7.5. {hu} 'article'

{hu} functions 1) as an article before nominal and adverbial adjuncts and 2) as a relative pronoun (see 2.7.4.1.). {hu} corresponds to English 'that' as in:

that dog bit him

the dog that bit him

where the 'that' that modifies an NP is homophonous with the 'that' that relates a complement to its head noun.

As an article, {hu} is a syntactic marker which precedes nominal and adverbial adjuncts. Its use is not obligatory with isolated lexical items, such as I commonly elicited. {hu} 'article' has the allomorphy of {hu} 'relativizer'.

wa kašawaya: ċ u tonyo hu mákǵku

'he will light it' art 'Tonio' art 'lamp'

Tonio will light the lamp

iktawil ċ u ċawáy

'I live' art 'now'

I am living now

na puči:sta ka hu kin-ča'á'
 'it's darkened' 'still' art 'my-house'
 My house is still darkened

2.7.6. Deictics

{anú} 'that' and {unimá} 'this' precede an N-like constituent. They indicate the relative distance of an object from the speaker. These deictics follow the article {hu} and precede the head noun.

2.7.6.1. {anú}

hu anu mučač wariyu waču 'ažúž
 That girl from the barrio also cried

hu yuč u anu sewé:ž
 It's she, that Isabel

2.7.6.2. {unimá}

hu unima aci' kin-ci'
 this girl is my daughter

na kan hu unima léči
 it's tasty this milk

2.7.6.3. {anú} and {unimá} also function as pronouns as follows:

išpapa č u anú her husband is that one

unima kim-pápa this one is my husband

2.7.7. Quantifiers

Quantifiers precede the constituent they modify.

2.7.7.1. {ɬu} occurs in the corpus most frequently in existential statements where it translates as 'many'. Compare the following:

na ɬu 'alin šumpípi there are many cockroaches

na 'alin šumpípi there are cockroaches

mati' ɬu hu kawáyu there are not many horses

mati' u kawáyu there are no horses

Based on these and similar data, it is not possible to determine if {ɬu} is a sister constituent of the verb form or the nominal. {ɬu} does not follow the article {hu} and so is unlikely to be a noun.

2.7.7.2. {paytát} 'half'

ikč̣aɬkatnaɬ anu paytat awiɬč̣án

I worked half the day

2.7.7.3. {č̣uš} 'every'

hantu šakfolay č̣uš awiɬč̣án

I wasn't here everyday

2.7.7.4. {tu'ú} 'some;any'

šakɬi'aštaɣniyaw u tu'u ɬi'ut

because of that we gave away some fruit

hantu tu'u šakinta'aɬtayhuyán

they didn't help us any

2.7.8. Independent pronouns

The following independent personal pronouns optionally accompany inflected verb forms.

1. kiɬin	1pl. kitnán
2. ušinti	2pl. ušitnán
3. yuč	3pl. yu'únč

Independent pronouns are always preceded by the article {hu} and occur before or after the verb form. They refer to both subject and object person.

Subject pronoun: hu kiɬin k-laka'ini-yán
art 'I' 'I-believe -you'

Object pronoun: k-laka'ini-yan hu ušinti
'I-believe -you' art 'you'

2.7.9. Prepositions

My informants borrowed three prepositions from Spanish, {kun} 'con/with', {pára} 'para/for', and {pur} 'por/in exchange for'. These prepositions precede an N-like constituent. The article

{hu} can precede the preposition and its object.

2.7.9.1. {kun} 'with'

hantu toł-putun kun kifin	he doesn't want to sit with
	me

2.7.9.2. {para} 'for'

hu kifin hantu k-čałkat-nam-putun	I don't want to work for
u para yuč	him (on his behalf)
ha ka-čałkatnan-a-w u para yuč	Will we work for him?

2.7.9.3. {pur} 'in exchange for'

ik-čałkatnan pur túmi:n	I work for money
ik-čałkatnan pur ki-wáyt	I work for my food

2.7.10. Adverbs

A number of words which correspond to English adverbs occur in the data. I have grouped them into three semantic categories: time, place and manner. Each form is listed with a gloss and exemplified.

2.7.10.1. Time

{čawáy} 'now', {kután} 'yesterday', and {łi} 'tomorrow' are frequently preceded by the article {hu}.

{čawáy} 'now'

hu čaway ni-ya'i-łit	now you (pl.) will die
ih-kaca-y č u čaway ni	I know now that it is true

wa sá-ł ċ
 na 'oš fahun u ška:n it's storming now
 u čawáy

{kután} 'yesterday'

My informants translated both /kutan/ and /kutančič/ as 'yesterday'. The latter form is more common.

hu ušinfī ċa-ċi hu kután ċ	you came yesterday
ik-paš-ł u kutánčič	I bathed yesterday
hu kutančič ik-páš-ł	yesterday I bathed

{łi} 'tomorrow'

łi a-k-lani-yá'	tomorrow I will learn
a-k-hun-an u łi	I will tell you tomorrow

{tawanán} 'ever'

/tawanán/ is modified by /hántu/ 'negative' in the following examples. My informants translated /hantu tawanán/ as Spanish 'nunca' (English 'never').

hantu tawanan čačkatnan u yúč	él nunca trabaja/he never works
hu kiřin hantu tawanan tolá-y	nunca me siento/I never sit down

{ka} 'todavía/still'

hantu ka na k-łtata-putún ċ	I still do not want to
	sleep
hu kihnan ka na k-wil-á-w	we are still living
wa čał ká	he is still young

{astán} 'then;afterwards'

astan kin-ta-čiwima'á:n ċ	then they summoned us
astan ċ ik-lak-la-hun-á-w ċ	afterwards we talk to one
	another

{atám} 'once'

/hántu/ 'negative' precedes /atám/ in the following examples, which my informants translated as 'nunca/never'. /atám/ may be formed on /tam/ 'one'.

hu yuč hantu atam a-la'oši(n)-nín	él nunca hace de
	comer/he never cooks
hu ušintí hantu atam pin u	tú nunca vas a la
lak-misa	iglesia/you never go to
	mass
hu kiłin hantu atam ik-'án	yo nunca voy/I never go

{so'ón} 'early'

Bower-Blount suggested that this morpheme also translates as 'quickly'.

wa so'on ik-łtatá-y	I go to sleep early
---------------------	---------------------

wa so'on ša-k-ma:-ʔtata-y	I put the girl to bed
u 'as'át	early
hu kitnan wa so'on	we go to bed early
k-lak-ma:-ʔtata-'an-á-w	

{čáča} 'always'

hu kitin čáča čaqš hu kiw	I always cut firewood
yuč čáča 'an 'in u kiw	he always goes to bring
	firewood

2.7.10.2. Place

Two adverbs of place, {aní} 'here' and {anč} 'there', are commonly preceded by article {hu}.

{aní} 'here'

ša-k-tol-a-w u aní	we settled here
hu ani 'alin laqatam š'ó:y	here is a dog

{anč} 'there'

hu yuč anč ka-puško-yá'	there he will look for him
ih-kil-a-w č u anč	we went there

{ča:} 'over there'

nin tu'u šakši'tahuyaw čá:	we couldn't find anything
	over there

{tan} 'where'

My informants translated {tan} and {tančič} as 'where'. Bower-Blount said that in Huehuetla Tepehua {hunta}, often reduced to /ta/, translated as 'where'. I am unsure of the connections of these morphemes.

na k-ma'ałahn-a-w ta(n)	we were suffering where
ša-ki-tol-á-w	were living
tan č u kušfúy	Where do you work?

2.7.10.3. Manner

Adverbs of manner precede the constituent they modify, unless they occur in an adjunct marked by {hu} 'relativizer'.

{čó'o} 'again'

hu kiŋin na čo'o š-ik-'am-putún	I wanted to go again
čuš čo'o a-ki-'ún	Tell me everything
	again!

An aspectual marker {-čo'ó} marks iterative on verb forms (see Aspect 2.2.5.7.).

{lay} 'be able'

/lay/ adds the notion 'be able' or 'know how' to verb forms.

hu ušinfī lay čiwiniŋ	you know how to speak
yuč lay 'ačoqnun łima'ał'amá'	he knows how to write
	Tepehua

{čunč} 'like so'

tu lay k-čiwi(n)-nin u čúnč	I cannot speak like that
hantu čunč a-ki-laqčí	Don't look at me like
	that

{čunč} also translates as 'yes'. Bower and Erickson 1967 gloss {čunč} as 'the same'.

{tačú} 'how'

na ʔi-ška-y taču lay k-čiwinín	It's difficult how I speak
k-qasmat taču non-kán	I understand how it is
	spoken

{wačú} 'also'

hu yu'unč waču na ta-ʔi-'akamin	they also smell of soap
u šá:pun	

waču č ik-má:-y	I also lie down
yuč waču č ta-má:-y	he also lies down

2.7.11. Other Uninflected Words

There are 53 uninflected words in the corpus that gloss as English adjectives. I prompted my informants with 'es' + adjective' or 'está' + adjective, (English 'it is' + adjective). Since 3rd subject is unmarked on Tepehua verbs, I cannot decide if these items are verbs. In texts such words may be preceded by the clitics {wa} and {na} suggesting verb root status. Further

elicitation and study will establish whether or not a grammatical class of adjectives needs to be established distinct from verbs. In the glossary I identify verbs as V, nouns as N, particles as P and clitics as C. I leave remaining words unidentified.

2.8. Numerals

Numerals are expressed with simple and compound stems. Bower-Blount 1948 provides the fullest treatment of Tepehua numerals and numeral affixes to date, including 16 numeral classifiers for Huehuetla Tepehua. Numbers 1-10 and 20 are monomorphemic; numbers 11-19 and 21-100 are compound forms. Numbers 11-19 are based on ten; numbers 21-100 are based on twenty.

2.8.1. Numerals 1 through 10 and the numeral 20 are single morphemes:

tam	one
tuy	two
tútu	three
tá:ti	four
ki:s	five
čaśán	six
tuhún	seven
cahín	eight
nahá:c	nine
ka:w	ten
puśám	twenty

In compound forms in which {tuy} is the first member, {tuy} has allomorph {tu}.

2.8.2. Numerals 11-19 are based on {ka:w} 'ten'. Their semantic value is equal to the sum of their constituent forms.

ka:w-tám	eleven	(10 + 1)
ka:w-túy	twelve	(10 + 2)
ka:w-tútu	thirteen	(10 + 3)
ka:w-tá:ti	fourteen	(10 + 4)
ka:w-kí:s	fifteen	(10 + 5)
ka:w-čaśán	sixteen	(10 + 6)
ka:w-tuhún	seventeen	(10 + 7)
ka:w-cahín	eighteen	(10 + 8)
ka:w-nahá:c	nineteen	(10 + 9)

2.8.3. Numerals 21-39 are based on {puśám} 'twenty'. Their semantic value is equal to the sum of their constituent forms.

puśám	twenty	
puśám-tám	twenty-one	(20 + 1)
puśám-túy	twenty-two	(20 + 2)
etc.		
puśám-ká:w	thirty	(20 + 10)
puśám-ka:w-kí:s	thirty-five	(20 + 10 + 5)
etc.		

2.8.4. {púšám} also forms the base of numerals 40-100 as follows: the compound stem of numerals 21-39 is preceded by {tu}, {tuʔu} 'three', {ta:ʔi} 'four' or {ki:s} 'five'. The first member of the numerals 40-100 acts as the multiplier of the sum of the constituent values of the subsequent members of the form.

tu-púšám	forty	(2 X (20))
tu-púšam-ká:w	fifty	(2 X (20 + 10))
tuʔu-púšám	sixty	(3 X (20))
tuʔu-púšam-ká:w	seventy	(3 X (20 + 10))
ta:ʔi-púšám	eighty	(4 X (20))
ta:ʔi-púšam-ká:w	ninety	(4 X (20 + 10))
ki:s-púšám	one hundred	(5 X (20))

My informants offered the form /tam syéntus/ (literally, 'one hundred'), based on the Spanish loan '-cientos/hundred', much more readily than /ki:s-púšám/.

2.8.5. Numeral classifiers

When numerals modify a noun in a noun phrase, they require the prefixation of classifiers as follows:

2.8.5.1. {0} numeral prefix

Numerals have no classifier when modifying Spanish loans /péšu/ 'peso', /óra/ 'hora/hour', /syéntus/ '-ciento/hundred', and /miʔ/ 'mil/one thousand'.

tam péšu	1 peso/cent
tuʔu péšu	2 pesos/cents

tam óra	1 ora/hour
tam syéntus	cien/one hundred
tam mîlh	mil/one thousand

2.8.5.2. {puma-} is the numeral classifier when the head noun refers to humans and animals.

puma-ťuy lapanák	2 hombres/men
puma-ťuy ki-la'áw	2 hermanos míos/my 2 brothers
puma-ki:s kawáyu	5 caballos/horses

2.8.5.3. {qan-} is the numeral classifier when the head noun refers to long, slender objects.

qan-ki:s ki-maká'	5 dedos míos/my 5 fingers
qan-ka:w kíw	10 árboles/trees

/ali-maká'/ (lit. 'digit' + 'hand') is the form given for 'finger(s)' where no numeral accompanies the noun.

2.8.5.4. {laqa-} is the general numeral prefix.

laqa-ťutu awilčán	3 días/days
laqa-ťa:ťi čí:wš	4 pedazos/pieces
laqa-tam š'óy	1 perro/dog
laqa-ka:w kíw	10 árboles/trees

a-ki-ma'čištaǵnin

Préstame uno!/Lend me

laqa-tám

one!

Note that /š'oy/ 'perro/dog' and /kiw/ 'árbol/tree' each occur with {laqa-} as well as with {puma-} (Sec. 2.8.5.2.) and {qan-} (Sec. 2.8.5.3.), respectively.

3.0. Sample Texts

These texts were given me by Monica Francisco and translated into Spanish by Tonio and Monica Quirino. I provide the English translation. Monica Francisco often interpolated Spanish lexical items and phrases in her Tepehua and several examples of that switching appear here. In the third text Monica makes reference to tortas, a sandwich made with bolillos, a wheat roll. Tortas and bolillos are still generally considered middle class fare. Thirty years ago, when Monica took the trip she describes, tortas were doubtlessly not a common item in her diet. She also refers to 'Nido' a brand name for powdered milk that is practically synonymous in Mexico with powdered milk in general.

I.1. hantu č tasu-y wa pu-čí:s-ta č 2. wa ka-šawa-ya: č u Tonyo
 hu mákǵku 3. tu ka k-manu-ya-w u makǵku hu lú:s 4. na pu-čí:s-ta
 ka hu kin-ča'a' porke ni wa k-póvri č 5. tu č lay k-maknu-y
 so'on kin-makǵku ní wa h-kiǵpa:tiní č 6. nin ki-ška:n nin 'alin
 nin tuwu porke ni wa mati hu suntáw 7. wa mati hu suntáw 8. Por
 eso tu lay ǵi-manu-yá-w.

1. Ya no se ve, está oscuro 2. Ya va a prender el candil Tonio
 3. Todavía no metemos la luz, la luz 4. Está oscuro todavía en
 mi casa porque estoy pobre 5. No puedo meter pronto mi luz
 porque estoy pobre 6. Ni agua hay, ni tubo porque no hay dinero
 7. No hay dinero, por eso no podemos metérnoslos.

1. One can't see, it's already dark 2. Tonio will light the lamp
 3. We still do not have electricity 4. My house is still dark
 because I am poor 5. I am not able to install electricity soon
 because I am poor 6. There is neither water nor pipes because
 there is no money 7. There is no money 8. For this reason we
 can't install them.

II.1. wa povre hu kitnán 2. na k-ma'ałahna-w ta ša-ki-ťol-a-w
 lak-'aykiwí:n 3. ih-ki-ťol-a-w u lak-'aykiwí:n 4. es como diez
 y ocho años ša-ki-ťol-a-w lak-'aykiwí:n 5. nin tu'u lay ša-k-
 ʔitahú-y ča: 6. nin tu'u ša-k-ʔitahu-y nin suntáw 7. na 'ač
 k-tamahu-ʔ u ani peru ih-kaca-y č kiťin ta ša-k-ʔi-tamahú-y
 8. está con trabajo ša-k-tamahu-yá-w 9. hu čaway ka 'astakna-w č
 hu ani 10. ik-ťol-á-w č 11. ik-taya-ʔ č u kin-ča'á' 12. ik-
 astakná-ʔ č 13. ʔi-'ačič ani k-wil-á-w 14. ʔi-'ačič 'an ik-
 wayn-á-w 15. na 'ač ša-k-ťol-a-w u ani hu muniška:n u kitnán.

1. Somos pobres nosotros 2. Sufrimos donde vivíamos en el monte.
 3. Nos sentamos en el monte 4. Es como diez años en el monte
 5. No encontramos nada allá 6. No encontré nada, ni dinero

7. Con gusto fui a compras aquí pero sabía yo donde comprar
 8. Está con trabajo que comprábamos 9. Ahorita descansamos aquí
 10. Nos sentamos 11. Se hizo la casa 12. Ya me descansé
 13. Con gusto vivimos aquí 14. Con gusto comemos aquí 15. Con
 gusto nosotros vivimos aquí en Mecapalapa.

1. We're poor 2. We suffered where we were living in the forest
 3. We lived in the forest 4. About eighteen years we lived in
 the forest 5. We didn't find anything over there 6. I found
 nothing, not even money 7. Happily I shopped here but I knew
 where to shop 8. It is with difficulty that we bought 9. Now we
 rest here 10. We settled 11. I built my house 12. I rested
 13. Happily we live here 14. Happily we eat here 15. Happily we
 live here in Mecapalapa.

III.1. kila-ł mé:nas 2. kila-ł silia 3. kila-ł ano save:ł ni
 ša-h-kili-yá-w 4. y luego 'a-ł u pórita wáču 5. ni ša-h-kili-
 ya-w u anč para astán č 6. k-lah-'ažun-a-w č pórke k-lah-putun-
 a-w č u wá:t 7. " máti hu wá:t 8. hu putun-a-w č u wá:t" 9. hu
 kitnan kin-ta-štaqni-kan-a-w č u tó:rta 10. astan č ik-lak-la-
 hun-á-w č 11. "ušinči ha 'imputun hu la-min-ča'á' 12. hu kitin
 na čó'o š-ik-'am-putún" 13. na k-lah-tažan-á-w č 14. hu lapanak
 ano kaču:pi-nin porke na lak-'ahim papa-nín 15. laqatam pažižin
 16. na ik-lah-tažan-á-w č 17. hantu č lay č žtatá-y
 18. ta-žahun čážkat-nin u kaču:pi-nín 19. Dos muchachas hantu
 ta-lak 'ažu-ł porke hu yu'unč wa na kan řaž'ula-y u tó:rta

20. laka-łiwa:y hantu 'oš ča:-ta hu łiwá:y 21. taštu-ni-ka-ł u
 š-akáł 22. tu putun-á-w 23. yuč u silia 'ažu-ł čay č u anu
 mučač u warriyu waču 'ažu-ł 24. 'ažu-ł porke čawan-á-w 25. ha:k
 'alín č 26. fruta č 'alín č 27. hantu lay kin-ta-čapa-yán
 28. lak-'ažun-á-w 29. hu leči yuč u wa de wot:ič na kán č
 30. nido hu 'anč i-štaq-nán 31. puru woliyo hu anč, to:rta, pan
 blánko 32. na łi-ma'aža' en stados unidos.

1. Fue Menas 2. Fue Cilia 3. Fue Isabel cuando fuimos 4. Y
 luego fue Hipólita también 5. cuando fuimos allí después 6.
 Lloramos porque queremos tortilla 7. "No hay tortilla
 8. Queremos tortilla" 9. A nosotros fuimos dado tortas
 10. Luego nos decimos 11. " Tú quieres ir a tu casa?" 12. Yo
 quería ir de nuevo 13. Teníamos miedo 14. La gente allá eran
 gringos porque eran muy grandes 15. Uno era barbado
 16. Teníamos miedo 17. No podemos dormir 18. Estaban trabajando
 los gringos 19. Dos muchachas no lloraron porque ellas piensan
 que las tortas son sabrosas 20. La carne no fue bien cocida, la
 carne 21. Salía su sangre 22. No las queremos 23. Cilia lloró
 y esa muchacha del barrio también lloró 24. Lloró porque
 teníamos hambre 25. Plátano hay 26. Fruta hay 27. No nos
 bastan 28. Lloramos 29. Leche de botella es sabroso 30. Allá
 Nido daba 31. Puro bolillo allá, tortas, pan blanco 32. Sufre
 uno en los Estados Unidos.

1. Menas went 2. Cilia went 3. Isabel went when we went 4. And

later Hipolita went 5. when we went there later 6. We cry
because we want tortillas 7. "There aren't any torillas 8. We
want tortillas" 9. We were given tortas 10. Then we say to one
another 11. "Don't you want to go home?" 12. I wanted to go
home again 13. We were afraid 14. The people were gringos
because they were very big 15. One was bearded 16. We were
afraid 17. We couldn't sleep 18. The gringos were working
19. Two girls didn't cry because they thought the tortas tasty
20. The meat in them wasn't well cooked 21. Blood came out of it
22. We don't want them 23. Cilia cried and that girl from the
barrio cried also 24. She cried because we were hungry
25. There were bananas 26. There was fruit 27. It didn't
satisfy us 28. We cried 29. Milk from the bottle is tasty
30. There Nido was given 31. Only bolillos there, tortas, white
bread 32. One suffers in the United States.

APPENDIX 1. SPANISH LOANWORDS

This list includes all of the Spanish loanwords found in my corpus. Stress follows the Spanish pattern in all but a few of these loans.

amígu	amigo/friend
asúʔ	azul/blue
čukulá:ti	chocolate
kačupí:n	gachupín/foreigner
kawáyu	caballo/horse
kompáli	compadre/friend
kun	con/with
lay	leer/read
léči	leche/milk
maltratála	maltratar/mistreat
mángu	mango/mango
miša	mesa/table
mučáč	muchacha/girl
mulínu	molino/mill
nína	niña/girl
pátuš	pato/duck
péšu	peso/cent
píru	pero/but
pólita	Hipolita
pówri	pobre/poor
pur	por/for

púrke	porque/because
púru	puro/pure; only
riku	rico/rich
šápu:n	jabón/soap
sawát	sábado/Saturday
sewéł	Isabel
silía	Celia
wáunku	banco/bank

These two words may also be borrowed from Spanish.

waštíla	cuartilla/Spanish measure of volume
wóti: ċ	botella/bottle

The following words combine Spanish loans and Tepehua morphemes.

astałiċ	Sp. 'hasta' + Tp. 'łi ċ' hasta mañana/until tomorrow
pusántu	Tp. 'pu-' + Sp. 'santo' altar/altar
tamił	Tp. 'tam' + Sp. 'mil' mil/one thousand
tamsyéntus	Tp. 'tam' + Sp. 'cientos' cien/one hundred
lakmisa	Tp. 'lak-' + Sp. 'misa' iglesia/church

APPENDIX II. GLOSSARY OF ROOTS

'ačalá	v. correr/run
'ačognún	v. escribir/write
'ač	alegre/happy
'ačán	v. be pleased
'acakú:nt	n. vida/life
'akamín	v. oler/smell of
'akšá:w	n. tinaja/urn
'ačkulú:k	áspero/sour
'ačtúh	v. brincar/jump
'ačún	v. llorar/cry
'alín	v. haber/exist
'altán	v. caminar/walk
'amananá'	n. fuego/fire
'an	v. ir/go
'aqšto:Ká	v. brincar/jump over
'aš	n. jícara/jug
'aša:ní	v. respirar/breathe
'askakát	caliente/hot
'atín	v. bailar/dance
'aykiwí:n	n. monte;bosque/hills;woods
'in	v. traer/bring
'oš	bueno/good
'ukšún	v. vagabundear/wander
'ulá	v. poner/place;put
'ulaní	v. pegar/hit
'uštú	v. hacer/make
a:tú'	n. pierna/leg
a'ala'ót	n. cuerno/horn
a'ašóč	n. oreja/ear
ačatí:n	n. yerba/herb
ací'	joven/young
ahút	mojado/wet
akáč	n. sangre/blood
akani:t	n. piel/skin
akšpún	n. hombro/shoulder
akskítit	n. cerebro/brain
alášuš	n. naranja/orange
aččán	n. barbada/chin
ačík	n. hoja de papel/paper
ačtahú	v. ayudar/help
ačtuknú'	n. espina/spine
ačúnu:t	n. corazón/heart
aličahá'	n. dedo del pie/toe
alimaká'	n. dedo de la mano/finger
alkút	n. hueso/bone
amaqštúč	n. basura/garbage
anč	p. allí/there
aní	p. aquí/here

anú	p. ese/that
apáma:t	n. pluma/feather
apułki:kní'	n. sombra/shadow
aqcí:s	n. pulga/flea
aqcúł	n. cabeza/head
aqšá:w	n. tinaja/urn
áqstu	n. mismo/self
aqstihún	n. techo/roof
as'át	n. muchacho/a/boy/girl
astakná	v. descansar/rest
astán	p. luego/afterwards; then
asúł	azul/blue
atá:p	sordo/deaf
atám	p. una vez/once
atapákšat	n. animal/animal
awí:ł	n. ratón/rat
awilčán	n. día;sol/day/sun
awipi:sní'	n. niebla/cloud
ay	n. pelo/hair
aya'aná'	n. ascuas/coals
aymoncán	n. frente/forehead
ayšká:n	n. río/river
čáča	p. siempre/always
čał	n. hijo/child
čamán	v. llenar/fill
či:s	n. noche/night
či'in	v. reírse/laugh
či'it	n. risa/laugh, smile
čilí:s	n. perico/parrot
čínki	pesado/heavy
čo'	n. pájaro/bird
čo'ó:n	n. Otomí
čucú	v. fumar/suck
čukú:nk	frío/cold
čunqá	v. perder/lose
čahá'	n. pie/foot
čaláq	n. trastes/dishes
čałkát	v. trabajar/work
čan	v. sembrar/sow
čapá	v. agarrar/catch
čaqa	v. lavar/wash
ču:n	n. zopilote/skunk
čukú	v. cortar/cut (with knife)
č	c. 'punctual'
ča:	v. cocer;madurar/cook;ripen
ča:	p. allá/over there
ča:qštá'	n. corteza de árbol/tree bark
ča'á'	n. casa/house
ča'án	n. hormiga/ant
ča'awášt	n. Totonaco
ča'út	n. saliva/saliva
čankát	n. caña/cane

čaqš	v. cortar/cut
čawān	v. tener hambre/be hungry
čawáy	p. ahora/now
čawlá'	n. guajolote/turkey
čay	p. y/and
či:	v. amarrar/gather (see pa:či:)
čilá'	n. pollón/pullet
čiwima'án	v. llamar/summon
čiwin	v. hablar/talk
čiws	n. piedra/stone
čó'o	p. otra vez/again
čunč	p. así;sí/like so;yes
čuš	p. todo/all
capú:	n. gusano/worm
casná:t	n. fierro/iron
cinkákas	n. piloncillo/unrefined sugar
cógot	n. rodilla/knee
ha	p. interrogative
ha:k	n. plátano/banana
hántu	p. no/no;not
hip	n. lumbre/light?
hu	p. article;relativizer
hu:k	n. venado/deer
hu:m	n. chuparrosa/hummingbird
hukšp	n. lagarto/lizard
humá	n. abuela/grandmother
hun	v. contar (decir)/tell
hunt	v. estar/be
is'ačí:n	n. paja/hay;fodder
ištá	v. salir/come out
ísta	n. cola/tail
ka:t	n. año/year
kacá	v. saber/know
katán	n. fiesta/holiday
katú	n. año/year
kiw	n. árbol;leña/tree;wood
ka	p. todavía/still
ká:na	n. este/east
kañnilu	n. chivo/goat
kan	sabroso/tasty
kapuhúh	n. mucoso/brat
ki:w	n. espinosa/chayote
kilá	v. ir y regresar/come and go
kižčáwt	n. barbo/chin
kižmákča:t	n. arco iris/rainbow
kižni	n. boca/mouth
kižpát	n. orilla/edge
kižpatiní:	pobre/poor
kilí	v. ir y regresar/go and come
kin	n. tía/aunt
kingán	n. él mío/mine, exclusively
kitín	p. yo;me/I;me

kitnán	p. nosotros/we;us
kuč	n. medicina/medicine
kuh	v. despertar/awaken;rise
kúku	n. tío/uncle
kukʔiʔ	n. aguacate/avocado
kúku:	n. arena/sand
kumpalimpáy	n. padrino
kumpalinát	n. madrina
kuš	n. maíz/maize
kuštú	v. escardar la milpa/work in the cornfield
kután	p. ayer/yesterday
la'ačapúy	loco/crazy
la'ahí	v. alegar/argue
la'áw	n. hermano/a/sibling
la'oší	v. hacerlo bien;guisar/make it well;cook
lači:sín	n. mañana/morning
lakʔitamáw	n. plaza/market
lakpu'áʔut	n. lágrima/tear
lakpučáwt	n. ceja;pestaña/eyebrow;eyelash
lakpuKíw	n. pómulos/cheekbone
lakpustáp	n. niña del ojo/pupil
lakštán	n. mejilla/cheek
laktiyá:n	n. cielo/sky
laka'í	v. creer/believe
lakaskín	v. querer/want
lakčahúy	cerrado/closed
lakpučaqá	v. lavar la cara/face-wash
laní	v. aprender/learn
lapanák	n. persona/person
laqčín	v. ver/see
laqčúʔ	n. ojo/eye
laštú	v. escardar/weed
lay	p. poder/be able
ʔt'ulá	v. pensar de/think;consider
ʔahá	v. ganar/win
ʔi	p. mañana/tomorrow
ʔi'íč	calor/heat
lí'ut	n. fruta/fruit
ʔima'áʔ'amá'	n. lengua Tepehua/Tepehua language
ʔimín	v. traer/bring
ʔilawá:n	n. castellano/Castilian
ʔitahú	v. encontrar/find
ʔiwáy	n. carne/meat
ʔma:n	largo/long
ʔtalamaká'	n. palma de la mano/palm of the hand
ʔtukít	n. atole/cornmeal mush
ʔtatá	v. dormir/sleep
ʔu	p. mucho/many
lu:	n. víbora/snake
ma:	v. acostar/lie down
ma:'aštán	v. manejar/make go

ma:má:	v. dejar/leave;put
ma'aʔ'amát	n. Tepehua
ma'aʔáh	v. sufrir/suffer
ma'át	lejos/far
ma'čiskín	v. pedir prestado/borrow
mačistáq	v. prestar/lend
mačaqšá	v. entender/understand
maká'	n. mano/hand
maka'án	v. mandar/send
makʔkulaní	v. poner la luz/turn on the lights
mákʔku	n. luz/light
maknú	v. meter a mano/install by hand
makskát	agujo/sharp
maʔí'uk	n. araña/spider
maʔkuyú'	n. luna/moon
maʔfik	n. puerta/door
mamiší	v. apagar/turn off
manú	v. meter;installar/install
makčaqá	v. lavar las manos/hand-wash
maqčá	v. hornear;rostar/bake;burn
ma'ní	v. matar/kill
maqš	n. oeste/west
makškiwík	v. nadar/swim
maqtahi	v. recibir/receive
maštú	v. sacar/pull out
masú	v. enseñar/teach
matí	v. no haber/not exist
matupí:k	n. mariposa/butterfly
mi:stú'	n. gato/cat
mik	n. hielo/ice
miʔpá	v. cantar/sing
miʔpú'ut	n. collar/necklace
min	v. venir/come
minčo'ó	v. regresar/come back
mispá	v. conocer/know
moqšnú'	n. tecolote/owl
mu:š	n. chango/monkey
muhú	v. echar/put
muštú	v. flotar/float
na	c. verb clitic
nahún	v. decir/speak
nat	n. madre/mother
nawi	v. hacer/make
ni	v. morir/die
ni	p. cuando/when
nin	p. ni...ni/no;not;neither
nipš	n. calabaza/squash
oč	n. garganta/throat
oqé'	n. luciérnaga/firefly
paqš	v. quebrar/break
pas	duro/hard
pinsti:lá'	n. chile verde/green chile

pin	n. chile/chili pepper
pa:ʔi:	v. amarrar/gather;tie
pa'áč	n. ala/wing
pahán	n. barriga/belly
pamá:t	n. pescado/fish
panimák	n. algodón/cotton
pápa	n. marido/husband
papá'	n. macho/male
paqč	n. jitomate/tomato
paš	v. bañarse/bathe
pastáq	v. recordar;pensar en/remember;think of
pay	n. padre/father
páytat	p. medio/half
pičilí'	n. muela de juicio/wisdom tooth
pištú'	n. cuello/neck
poqo'úł	viejo/old
poqš	n. polvo/dust
pu	n. cara/face
pu:m	n. copal
putáma:n	n. cama/bed
putolán	n. asiento/chair
puči:s	v. oscurecer/be dark
pučahúy	nublado/cloudy
puhún	plano/flat
pulakán	n. espalda/back
puža'ó'	hueco/hollow
pumpú'	n. ropa/clothing
pupá	n. abuelo/grandfather
púput	n. espuma/foam
puškahú	v. buscar/look for
pušlím	n. primo/cousin
putaqá	v. contar/count
putiča'o'úł	n. suegra/mother-in-law
putihó'at	n. suegro/father-in-law
qot	v. tomar/drink
qahín	n. tortuga/turtle
qalá:t	n. avispa/wasp
qaqštá'	n. labio/lip
qastú'	n. codo/elbow
qáhi	grande/big
qo:nt	gordo/fat
qus	bonito/pretty
s'olí	v. chiflar/whistle
š'apawá:t	n. pan/bread
š'awáw	amarillo/yellow
š'o:y	n. perro/dog
š'op	v. cansar/tire
š'oy	n. hoja de árbol/tree leaf
šá:nti	n. flor/flower
ša'alá	v. saludar/greet
šanatičawlá'	n. guajolote hembra/female turkey
šāštak	crudo/raw

šiši	v. secar/dry
škiti	n. murciélagu/bat
ška	v. doler/hurt
ška:n	n. agua/water
škilí:w	chorreado/filthy
ško:ma'án	v. corretear/push off
škupú'	n. kamayas/crayfish
šma'astá'	n. cáscara/shell;husk
šnapáp	blanco/white
špiyóq	n. caracol/snail
šqa:m	n. totemoxcle/corn husk
šqan	n. mosca/fly
šqoyá:m	n. carbón/charcoal
štá'at	n. metate/stone quern
štaq	v. dar/give
šumpípi	n. cucaracha/coakroach
šunukčawlá'	n. hongo/mushroom
šawá	v. quemar/burn
sa	v. tocar/play (an instrument)
sa:tálc	n. hueso de fruta/pit
sakmí	v. preguntar/ask
saqs	dulce/sweet
sásti	nuevo/new
si:ma'át	n. lengua/tongue
siláq	n. grillo/cricket
siwik	n. raíz/root
škaw	n. conejo/rabbit
skin	v. pedir/ask for
škun	tibio/warm
skiti	v. moler/grind
skítit	n. masa/dough for torillas
slapúnk	liso/smooth
slapúł	rojo/red
slu:m	n. lagartija/lizard
so'ón	p. temprano/early
sqatán	n. ciruela/plum
sta	v. vender/sell
štáku	n. estrella/star
staw	verde/green
stap	n. frijol/beans
stíkit	n. leche/milk
su:n	amargo/bitter
suntáw	n. dinero/money
ta'apán	borracho/drunken
ta'ulá	v. sentarse/sit down
taŋgalín	n. canasta/basket
taŋgan'á	v. estar enfermo/be sick
tíksti	chico/small
tin	n. semilla/seed
ti:n	n. tierra;terreno/earth;land
ta'ošá	v. hacer la tarde/be afternoon
tawíl	v. vivir;sentar/live;settle

tačapúy	fuerte/strong
táču	p. como/how;as
tacalá:t	n. diente/tooth
tahúš	p. por qué/why
takacán	n. espíritu/spirit
takú	n. esposa/wife
taž'amán	enojado/angry
tažán	v. temer/fear
tažmá:	hondo/deep
tažp	n. cerro/hill
tažtáhàt	n. sudor/sweat
tamá:	v. acostar/go to bed
tamahú	v. comprar/buy
tan	p. donde/where
tané	n. banco/bench
tanéikéik	n. pajarito/small bird
tankžák	n. pecho/chest
taštó'	n. cosa/thing
taštú	v. salir/come out
tasú	v. verse/be seen
taswanán	p. cuándo/when
tawanán	p. jamás/ever
tayá	v. parar/ stand;raise
tensún	n. chivo/goat
ti:	n. vereda/trail
tis	p. que;cual/what;which
tisčawáy	p. quien/who
tu'ú	p. algo;algún/some;any
túmi:n	n. dinero/money
tunkúh	v. amanecer/dawn
tunkúh	n. amanecer;medio dia/dawn;midday
u:n	n. viento/wind
ukstí:n	n. jefe/chief
'ulút	n. juntura/joint
unimá	p. este/this
ušintí	p. tú;tí/you
ušitnán	p. vosotros/you (pl.)
wa	c. verb clitic
wa:t	n. tortilla
wáču	p. también/also
wahín	v. comer/eat
wayt	n. comida/food
wénqen	n. rana/frog
wil	v. vivir/live
yá'a	v. guapo/beautiful
yu'únč	p. ellos/they;them
yuč	p. él/he;him

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